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GERMANY TEN YEARS AFTER

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BY

GEORGE H. DANTON

Visiting Professor at the University of Leipzig, 1925-1926

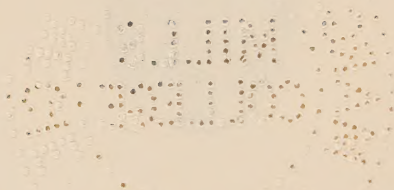


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TO MY PARENTS
TO WHOSE SPIRIT OF SELF-SACRIFICE
I OWE A DEBT
WHICH I CAN NEVER REPAY



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PREFACE

AT the invitation of the Saxon Ministry of Public Instruction, I accepted an exchange professorship at the University of Leipzig from Tsing Hua University, Peking, China, for the academic year, 1925-26. Owing to the unsettled state of China, the professor from Leipzig did not come to Peking, but I went as 'Gast-professor,' and lectured in Leipzig on conditions in contemporary China and on American problems. Although the appointment was for both semesters, it seemed best to terminate the lectures at the end of the first half-year, in order to see something of other parts of Germany. Invitations were received to lecture at several other German universities but, unfortunately, only that of the University of Berlin could be accepted. Everywhere I found the most courteous treatment and I cannot express myself too strongly in appreciation of the tact and kindness of my German colleagues and hosts, who recognized the difficulties of the delicate situation caused by the failure of the exchange to materialize, and who did all in their power to place themselves and the resources of their institutions at my disposal. The list of these helpful friends is too long to name; it includes nearly every one with whom I came into contact in my academic relations, and I take this occasion to express

my thanks to them. I wish also to thank the various members of the German Legation in Peking, of the German Foreign Office, and of the Saxon and Prussian Ministries of Public Instruction for their helpfulness.

The present volume arose out of these contacts. It does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of Germany; it handles no one problem from the specialist's standpoint. There are many significant movements which are entirely omitted, especially in art, literature, and philosophy. No statistics are presented. The book is based on sympathetic observation rather than on detailed investigation. It tries to show the German point of view in a friendly but objective way. Its background has this peculiarity: there had been no opportunity on my part to revisit Germany since my student days; in the meantime, an extended residence in the Orient had colored all my opinions. Perhaps this leads to a comparative attitude which may throw the problems into higher but clearer relief.

It may be worth while to note that the sojourn in the Orient had so imbued me with the spirit of Oriental culture that I went to Europe with a positive distaste for that side of European civilization. But when I left Europe, I had regained my feeling that in art, literature, and music, not only America but Asia has much to gain from the Old World. But the economic and political aspects of Europe were discouraging. Even when compared with chaotic China, Europe seemed at times depressing.

As far as I could, I have tried to answer the type of question which was asked me in Europe, America, and finally in China, about Germany. While the reactions are purely personal, I feel that they interpret correctly and fairly the opinions and moods of those with whom I came into contact. This was, perhaps, a somewhat restricted group, but just such restriction may lend a certain color to the volume which will serve to document definite lines of thought. I felt that I got into touch with student opinion rather more than I expected. The students came to consult me very freely, and as three of the members of my family were in attendance at the university, we saw a good deal of the student life. What seemed most difficult was to get into touch with the laboring classes, except incidentally.

I came away from Europe firmly convinced that it is to the advantage of the United States, as well as of China, to develop relations with Germany to their fullest extent. This means, for America, not merely the investment of capital but a return to the old intimate cultural relations of the pre-war period. As the boycott of the German language still continues to some extent in American schools, there is probably not much chance that a real relation can be brought about among the young. But it is only a matter of intelligent self-interest (if there be such a thing) to demand a closer attention to the whole of German culture.

This book owes a great deal to the coöperation of

my wife whose notes I have freely used; the section on the *mensa* is based entirely on her investigations.

G. H. D.

PEKING, *July*, 1927

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GERMANY TEN YEARS AFTER



CHAPTER I INTRODUCTORY

IN order to understand Germany from anything but the tourist's point of view, especially in relation to the effects of the war, it is necessary to keep in mind certain definite factors, the bearing of which upon the whole complex may not, at first sight, be evident. These factors, which are found in Germany itself, are complicated in people's minds in their interpretation by extraneous data, derived from the reading of books, and especially of newspapers, each of which has its specific point of view or special field of emphasis. The attitude may also be tinged, indeed, usually is tinged, by emotional reactions which tend to warp the judgment and cloud the issue. It is a strange fact that people usually either very much like, or very much dislike, Germany and the Germans. One seldom finds a lukewarm attitude toward them. Now, although this may be taken as a compliment to the definiteness of the German personality, it is unfortunate if it happens to crystallize in an unfavorable opinion; for thus, at the present time, when

the war-psychosis is by no means over, it results in greater distortions of truth than it did before the war. If the somewhat anti-German traveler comes to Germany *via* France, he may feel the reaction even more strongly; indeed, as he will have to pay in a stabilized currency for what he gets, and pay fairly high prices, he may not realize how much his judgment is affected by the financial aspect of the matter. Usually the American traveler finds prices in Europe so low that he does not realize that his comparisons are valueless for a generalization on the economic condition of the inhabitants of the countries through which he passes, and he is very likely to postulate prosperity because he is buying foreign products by means of a currency which is high in value, or because he is thinking of prices in America. If he is bibulously inclined, he may postulate, from the general European attitude toward alcohol, a social freedom which is really not at hand, or, contrariwise, if his insularity increases in direct ratio to the distance from home, as is often the case, he may find nothing whatsoever to his fancy.

The first point to be observed in forming an estimate of Germany is that, as the country was not devastated by foreign armies, there are no visible signs of war, in the way of ruined buildings or of vast reconstructions, such as one sees in France. The Germans cannot carefully preserve 'war-scarred' areas as outward symbols of what they suffered. This has one excellent effect: it does not tend to symbolize

hate and keep fresh in the minds of the common people reminiscences which stimulate, through hatred, to future wars. Even the cult of the unknown soldier and of the battle heroes is diminished by the sense of defeat. Whatever scars there may be (and they are many) are more or less covered up by other attitudes and are pushed into the background by other necessities. They remain in the spirit of the people rather than in the appearance of the country. This is evident in the matter of the wearing of mourning; there is little black to be seen, even in the Roman Catholic sections of Germany, where one would expect it, as one expects it in France, Italy, and Belgium, and where it is found in abundance. The number of cripples on the streets is surprisingly small, nor does it seem necessary, as in France, to have special seats in the trams 'reserved for wounded in the war.' The occasional limp sleeve, the halting gait, or the staring eye make no special claim to sympathy in the general current, in the matter-of-fact outwardness of the situation.

The traveler coming from the Orient, however, remarks one notable exception: nowhere in the world do the faces of the aged show such signs of suffering. The aged Chinese, serene in the feeling that their system provides for them, no matter how low the standard of living, show no facial signs of mental suffering or conflict. The placidity of their countenances is a marked contrast to those of the aged Germans. One is shocked at the look of pain, uncertainty, and inner

grief that one notices everywhere. One rarely saw anywhere in Germany a benign old face. Most countenances exhibited settled despair. Sometimes, when the faces were in action, there was vitality, and even humor, but in repose the faces of the aged were sometimes shocking, not only in their sense of spiritual, but even of physical, suffering. If one examines into the background of all this, one discovers that the post-war conditions have borne especially hard on the older generation. The young people, at least the majority, are ready to face the new era; in fact, a generation is growing up which has only faint memories of the struggle. But the old people cannot forget that they are being made to bear some of the war's burdens in a peculiarly acute way. By 'old' one usually means those who are actually on in years, not necessarily middle-aged. In Germany, however, as in all countries in which the struggle for existence is severe, the tendency is to depress the age level of retirement from active service. The word which strikes terror to the aged in Germany is *Abbau*, the discharge of superfluous or superannuated employees. At the end of the war, when the Hamburg-Amerika lines lost so many of their ships, all captains over fifty-five years of age were let out. Other firms pursue the same policy. Teachers, professors, officials, all have the axe over their heads; as soon as they reach the age limit, they must go. But these classes have fixed positions, with pensions and a certain social standard. The situation bears much more severely on

the working classes, who, in spite of doles and old-age relief, are discarded as soon as possible.

But the economic situation does not account for all the suffering one sees on the faces of the aged. One's imagination quails at the thought of the bleeding bodies of the young on the field of battle, but one cannot help but pity the old whose philosophy may have contributed to the error. If appearances are any guide at all, the old people of Germany feel the after effects of the war far more keenly than do those of any other nation that participated.

The second point which requires elucidation is the matter of Germany's intellectual isolation for the period of the war, and indeed for some time succeeding the close of the struggle. It is very difficult for those who have never suffered isolation from their fellows to understand the effects of such separation upon the human mind and character. Nowadays communication is so rapid and the generalizing of knowledge so complete that it requires a real effort of the imagination to understand the point of view of a Trappist monk, who lives solely for his orisons in some secluded part of the world. Those who have ever visited a Trappist monastery will remember the hunger for companionship and for news of the world that one reads in the very eyes of the monks. One sees the same thing, to a certain extent, in the case of missionaries who have lived long in the interior of China. When these come to the coast cities, their mental eyes seem constantly blinking at the un-

accustomed light. One refrains from saying 'brilliance,' because in the port cities of China the effect is rather that of 'darkness visible.' This same phenomenon may be observed in Germany. Much that is otherwise difficult to explain is easily explicable if one realizes that the Germans were very much cut off from the world for more than four years; that, to a certain extent, they are still cut off. Their newspapers must depend on foreign services for international news, since the Germans control no cables. Their purchasing power was strictly limited by a debased currency, even after the world was ready to give out information, so that there are great gaps in the actual knowledge of the facts which the Germans have regarding the outside world. They are rapidly filling in these gaps, but the lacunæ exist, and they have had their effect on the national point of view.

There is vastly less interest on the part of the outside world in Germany than there is interest on the part of Germany in the outside world. Whereas the rest of the world has a sense of having had too much to think about in connection with Germany in the last dozen years — and this feeling is quite marked in the United States — Germany, which has been shut up for so long, exhibits an intense desire to know what is going on elsewhere. One may decry this feeling, by saying that the interest is, at bottom, due to an economic urge; that Germany is seeking fields for expansion, both for surplus population and for the marketing of her superfluous goods. No one

can deny that there is this element of self-interest involved. In this attitude Germany is not alone among the nations, and the desire is both natural and legitimate in a competitive industrial civilization. Neither can it be denied that the desire for other fields of activity than those offered by present-day Germany is very strong in the professional and intellectual classes. Perhaps the most constant form of advice for which I was asked by students was how to find positions either in America or China. Even where there was no especial desire to leave Germany permanently, the feeling seemed to be that, for the next period of years, crowded conditions at home, in fact, the whole *milieu*, made it imperative to get away. In one of my lectures the name of a certain steamer happened to be mentioned. After the hour, a youth appeared in my office and said that he had worked his way as dish-washer from Germany to the Orient and back on that boat. Even with this hard experience, and with only such glimpses of China and Japan as an underpaid servant had been able to catch in the ports, he had conceived such a longing to return to the East that he found Germany almost unbearable.

In this man we get the real feeling of many young intellectuals; it is a border-line feeling, between a sense of economic helplessness with respect to Germany of to-day, coupled with an intense dissatisfaction with chances of advancement, and a romantic desire to know more of the outside world, to be in and of this outside world rather than to follow the

dull routine of home, especially when that home offers so little chance. Domicile in present-day Germany means to many of her youth not only economic but social and intellectual restriction. Whether this feeling is entirely justified is another matter; it probably rests on assumptions which are based on imperfect information as to what the outside world offers. It certainly was true with respect to the facts of economic opportunity in China and America, as not only persons situated like myself, but such German organs as keep in touch with outside conditions, kept emphasizing in their warnings to young people.

Since naturally the majority of Germans are well aware that their future lies within Germany, no matter what the fate of the land may be, however poor and overcrowded, however wanting in untapped natural resources, the effort to break down the isolation must be mainly in the direction of intellectual endeavor. The first task is to reërect a shattered hope, to rescue a civilization which even now may be threatened with wreck, and, above all, to restore their own economic balance. The earnest desire to know other lands fits in with this scheme. The lecturer who comes to Germany to talk of other civilizations need not flatter himself that it is merely his engaging personality or his fluent oratory which brings him his numerous invitations to speak. He is a spring of information to a naturally intellectually virile race which for many years has been cut off from direct

contact with foreign lands, and which still feels sensitive, in the main, when traveling.

The factor which causes the largest measure of misunderstanding in the average mind in regard to Germany is the surface appearance of prosperity. There is more or less attempt at outward show, which in some quarters amounts to luxury. A certain element of internationalism has crept in, in this respect, so that the women dress better and more stylishly than in the decade before the war. This means short skirts, silk stockings, pumps, instead of sensible shoes, no overshoes in bad weather, fur boas around the neck while the feet are bedraggled in the slush. Bobbed hair was not so usual as elsewhere, but was very prevalent. The trend toward uniformity in outward things pervades the entire world; in dress it was far more apparent among the young women than among the young men. If Spain has taken to Oxford bags and Japan has introduced both these and flapperism, there may be some little excuse for the widening of Germany's sartorial horizon, especially after the deprivations caused by the war; during this period the materials were of the worst, and no luxury of any kind was possible. If the chance tourist sees the reaction from the earlier situation, if he sees the sleazy shopgirls and the bedizened cook, he must also look carefully at the educated and cultured classes, who are only now beginning to reappear after a long period of seclusion which was partly occasioned by shame at the lack of a proper wardrobe. For Ger-

many is an expensive country to live in. Food is very high, especially meat; cotton goods are higher, quality for quality, than in America. If one examines into the situation a little, one finds that the spending in public is done by a limited few and that under the surface it is still a buyer's and not a seller's market.

It is constantly reported that the cafés and restaurants are always full, and that there is a great demand for all things which build up the external side of social life. Again, a good deal of this is purely on the surface. The luxury is artificial and specious. The evening dresses blatantly advertised in the shop-windows remain week after week; in Leipzig a very expensive broadtail coat was ticketed 'sold' in a furrier's window for a month. The comments by the window gazers were extremely illuminating, ranging from bitter socialistic criticism to shopgirl envy. Some of the spending is still a hang-over from the inflation, when people refused to save, so that they got out of the actual habit of saving. In fact, it was not until early in 1926 that the trend back to the savings banks was noted among the working classes. A second point to be taken into consideration is that, though the shops are full of fine things, there is no evidence of their having been bought except in some of the large centers. There is a remarkable fidelity to type among the lower classes in the extensive purchases of shoddy of all kinds, of standardized art and dress, of which European shops have their full share. The better

shops and the specialty shops universally reported poor business.

There was evidence on all sides that the German public had not yet recovered its purchasing power. The police permit special sales only within certain limits and at certain times, in order to protect the public from chicanery. The merchants also seem to have an agreement to the same effect, in order to prevent cutthroat competition. The result seemed to be that everywhere the shops were desperate to sell, a fact which resulted in very unpleasant sales-methods, indeed, in some very bad salesmanship. In order to placate the customer, the salespeople too often adopted an oleaginous manner, which turned into acid if the customer left the shop without purchasing. As might be expected, the worst sinners were the specialty shops, though the department stores left a good deal to be desired. With this, there was coupled far too much of the 'unreel,' of the unreliable in the quality of the merchandise. When goods were found not to be as represented, there was not only great unwillingness to refund, but even to make good actual damage or to replace damaged articles. 'Caveat emptor' was the motto, all too often. The goods displayed in windows were often not purchasable at the window price, but were used as bait. Such tactics are not confined to Germany, and there are no moral lessons to be drawn from them at this point. They indicate, when taken with the whole situation, that the shops are compelled to re-

sort to every means in order to break what is practically a buyer's strike.

For reasons which will be developed later on, there is no real development of luxury within the home, in the general run of ordinary life. The *petit bourgeois* lives in the same meager way that he always did, all over Europe. In Germany, the taxes are high and the income is severely cut into by them. There is an income tax, a turn-over tax, a profits tax, and a list of other taxes which numbers, for two unmarried women keeping a very small *pension*, a total of nine different taxes. The taxing mania of the Government is illustrated by this incident: during one year these women lost four hundred marks on their *pension*. When it came time to go over their books with the tax collector, it was found that they had to pay a special tax on this deficit! The reason was that it was a turn-over, and whether the turn-over was profit or loss made no difference. The tax regulations amount to a thick book, and are more complicated than those in the United States. The papers print each month what taxes are due for the current period, and in what proportion; and people need to be well-informed on this point in order not to get into trouble with the authorities. One lives under the impression that all the world is either paying taxes or collecting them, and in certain groups the taxes were the subject of a good deal of anxious comment. For the German in business, there is a constant atmosphere of 'pay.' Such a system raises the prices of all commodities,

and even if shop rents are low, all other costs are high enough to neutralize the advantage from low rents.

Failures in business and the consequent suicides were constantly reported in the daily press. We were informed by business people that there were far more bankruptcies than the reports showed. The reasons why not all came out were, first, that the papers kept some back in order not unduly to excite the public, and, second, because many persons arranged with their creditors without going through the expensive processes of the bankruptcy courts. But a surprising amount of space was devoted to business troubles. A prominent sociologist confided to me that the real seriousness of the economic situation lay in the startling number and the contagiousness of suicides among agriculturalists who could not weather the storm. These were causing such authorities as himself more concern than the industrial situation, or, indeed, than the unemployment, which reached its peak in February, 1926, with 1,700,000 out of work. Even during the darkest period of the war, the farmers did not lose heart. If they were despairing, the country was in danger of a bad collapse of morale, according to this professor. The great lack of capital made an immediate high percentage of profit necessary, in order to raise cash with which to carry on. There were constant inducements to buy on the installment plan. Interest rates were high; savings banks offered eight per cent on yearly fixed deposits; on ordinary savings, six per cent was common.

No matter with what class one talked, one learned of the severity of the economic strain. The railroad conductors were placarding the country to prove that a married man could not possibly live on the wages they were getting, one hundred and eight marks a month, with all deductions and additions taken into consideration. This was for a family of four. One of the striking points in all arguments for higher wages was that, with the cost of food so high, new clothing was out of the question. A street-paver opened his pay envelope on the street as I passed him; I could not help seeing what was in it: eighteen marks. As he counted it, a curious expression passed over his face. He caught my eye, shrugged his shoulders, and passed on. One emigrant couple said that the husband had been a worker for Krupp at twenty-two marks a week. Two people could not carry on on that sum. These were in the class that risked everything on a trip to America, where they had no jobs in sight, but where they felt they had more chance than at home. Yet there are plenty of people who would rather try the doles: ten marks weekly for a single man, fifteen for a married couple without children, and seventeen for a couple with one child. But, in spite of the small amounts offered by the labor relief, there are some who try to cheat the Government. These are the persons who get a small job by hook or crook, even though they are unfit to hold it. Once discharged, they come under the heading of the unemployed, and so are entitled to the

doles. Country girls migrate to the city, get positions which they have no intention of holding, lose their jobs, and go back to the farm with the doles as a safe income on the side. With all the doles and unemployment, there is a scarcity of good agricultural labor. It has been found that the unemployed city laborer or factory hand is unfitted for agricultural labor.

The general impression made by social life in Germany is that people have very little time and almost no money for entertaining. This impression grows so strong that one hesitates to accept hospitality for fear of causing some derangement in the budget of friends whose finances cannot stand any extra strain. One cannot help realizing how great were the privations all through the war, and how deep the memories of these privations are from the tenor of the conversations when these points are discussed. It is not that the people whine; it is simply that they still remember real suffering. It has a most blighting effect on a guest to see a lady of refinement and education hold her hands to her stomach, and, with every gesture of pain and with every expression of torture, describe her actual craving for food. The men are much more restrained in their expressions. Besides this, many were at the front and did not go through the attrition process of the civilian population. The entire memories of the latter center around hunger, around hunger that was so vivid a moment in their lives that a silence falls on an assembly when, across the buzz of

conversation, one hears from the other side of the room the words, 'Wir haben gehungert.' Mothers have only one thought, and that is how they struggled to get milk for their children. Even during the inflation, the main attempt was to get milk, at the cost of whatever millions.

It was interesting to watch the real awakening of social life among the educated class in Germany. This social life, as manifested in 1925-26, could be understood only when seen against the background of war conditions. In Leipzig, for example, the large faculty party known as the 'Professorium' was held for the first time in full flower in the winter just mentioned. During the war and the inflation, when people felt the need of meeting together for social purposes, they brought their own food, and if the host provided anything, it was a drink of some weak substitute for tea. But there was actually neither the desire nor the opportunity for any social life. There was no heat and little light, so that social gatherings were practically impossible. The people also had no good clothes and were thus ashamed to appear. The most terrible winter, 1917, was the 'turnip winter,' when the people were reduced to eating yellow turnips in every possible form, and when many of the substitutes for such staples as coffee, were made of dried and roasted turnips. In a winter like that, it was impossible for people to develop the least interest in social intercourse. Then, after the war, when the natural rebound was due to take place, the inflation

occupied the entire attention of the populace. It has been alleged, by writers in magazines and in the daily press in America, that the Germans whined a good deal about their losses and their discomforts; if this was true, it certainly did not occur among the educated classes with whom I came into contact. There may have developed among some of them a certain hardness, and in some cases a certain narrowness, but they accepted their social disabilities with the same calm resignation that they accepted their military losses. The Germans were deeply humiliated, but they showed no signs whatever of servility. This is important to note, because it affects the rise of the new 'social' order, using that term to translate both *sozial* and *gesellschaftlich*.

The reaction from this suffering is greatest in those who live on that plane of household economics in which expenditure for food plays the greatest rôle. It is these people who fill the cafés and restaurants and throng the delicatessen shops and meat markets. They are those who still live under the fear of further inflation, who tend to return every good of life directly to the senses, and who, by their spending, give the tourist the idea that they are representative, and that there is plenty of money for pleasure. Among the upper classes there are many restrictions, not only those imposed by good sense and good breeding, but by strict necessity. Patriotism also plays a part; many feel that to save on the table assists in the recovery of Germany, since high living also means

the purchasing of many products from abroad. So one finds advantage taken of this mood by vintners whose slogan was 'Drink German wines,' and there were some who objected to the eating of Italian oranges. But actually such were but sporadic manifestations. The revulsion away from luxury on the part of the better educated was genuine and in every way commendable.

Another point to be remembered is that social life in Europe is based on an entirely different principle from that in America. It is not that social life is necessarily more centralized in Europe, nor is the principle of cliques and small groups more important than in the United States, but there is throughout the whole system the tacit recognition of the fact that every one knows the niche in which he belongs, and places himself in that niche almost automatically. This accounts for one of the important differences, that of priority in calling. In America, the old inhabitants call first; our society is new, people are constantly coming up to and into new levels, and the older inhabitants of any given locality find it necessary to look the newcomer over to see whether he fits into their group or if he fits into any group in the community into which he comes. In Germany, however, society is more fixed. The new arrival comes less to a community at large, into which he enters and to which he adjusts himself, than to a section of the community to which he is already known in advance and to which he brings very definite testimonials.

Americans traveling in Europe often complain that it is difficult to get *entrée* into groups with which they wish to come into touch. The reason is usually that they come without letters; no European travels without letters, or, if he comes permanently to a community, he comes to a group in that community which welcomes him definitely as a part of itself; he comes to fill a vacancy in it, and not to create a new place for himself. So the newcomer calls first, merely to establish the fact that he has arrived and is ready to take up his social duties in his new niche. Of course, the pioneer conditions which prevailed in America are disappearing, but the assumption upon which our calling system is based is that of the frontier of which it is still a survival.

Social life, then, in Europe has a definite form; the person who enters it, enters it because he is a part of it, and because, belonging to it, he brings less to it than he finds already in it. This carries with it a certain stiffness and lack of spontaneity. In America, the newcomer is called on, is brought into the group because the group believes that he can bring something to it; in Europe, given the proper introductions, the newcomer *must* be accepted by the group to which he is, more or less, accredited. A young business or professional man slips into his chink in the wall very easily and does not as a rule step out into another circle. The circles are far more concentric than in America, and the amount of purely formal entertaining due to the position of the host is far greater than

in America. In the latter country, the hospitality used to be freer and more open-handed; with the disappearance of the servant class it has become hurried, perfunctory, or a matter of clubs and restaurants. European hospitality still can count on a servant class, without which no freedom or dignity of hospitality can be maintained, any more than a real aristocracy of learning can be developed. It revolves, however, in certain orbits and after a while one begins to feel that each orbit is very definitely limited. A social organization which is still in as fluid a state as that in America, offers far greater variety, especially of types, than does European society, but it is lacking in consistency of point of view, in depth of conversation, and in the common background of a social class, not only with the same traditions but with the same apperceptions. It might be inferred that in Germany society is more snobbish than in America, but this is actually not true. Discordant elements have been eliminated by the system; the boulder finds his level and keeps it, all in all, and the long tradition of social attrition has only smoothed off the rough edges. In the better sets there is always room for the person, properly presented, who has the proper intellectual ability or social graces.

The amount of intellectual and emotional property held in common by the people in old civilizations is surprising. In China it is a mass of legend, of ceremonial, also linguistic in character. Between China and Japan it is the whole Confucian canon, and for all

Asia there is a bond in the vast literature, practices, and eschatology of Buddhism. It is the common background of Europe, in the intensity and depth in which it is found in Europe, that one misses in America, where the hordes of emigrants, cut loose from their original culture, have done little to assimilate that which is American. It is this lack which makes American civilization seem so jejune, so unconnected with a certain generality of knowledge and feeling, such as strikes the observer in Europe. The tendency in America to-day is to emphasize the indigenous background, and much is being done to develop a knowledge of it. Despite all the recent books about negro poetry and music, about the cowboys' songs, the Southern plantation, the literature of the Western border, and Paul Bunyan, the flowering of an indigenous culture is, however, only now beginning.

In Germany the strong roots of the tradition prevail; there is, first of all, the common background of Europe, of which Germany must always be a part, but there is, within the confines of the 'Reich,' whether old or new, a common German knowledge which, in Germany, is also characterized by a certain number of common *feelings*, of reactions transcending the 'hundred per cent patriotism' of America, that type of patriotism which seems to be America's sole unifying spiritual bond. One does not need to conclude that the Germans are more spiritually minded, or that their attention is directed toward higher things exclusively; perhaps there may even be a

sharper cleavage between a spiritual state and a gross physical one, which makes both stand out more clearly to the observer. At any rate, wherever in Germany interest in and knowledge of art, music, or literature are found, there is less of the *précieuse*, and more of the simply natural, in the attitude toward them than with us. Europeans can always talk of things like these without feeling either self-conscious or that they are talking shop. The difference is clearest, first of all, in the matter of music, the practice of which in Germany is a common household art; the middle classes have music, and can really play and sing, without the necessity of invariably resorting to the talking machine. In this one respect, Germany still completely outstrips us. In art (including the art of dress) the situation is not so clear. Here the mass production of chromos, department-store trash, and the horrors which we are accustomed to damn in English as 'Victorian,' or, in German, as '*Biedermeier*,' run side by side with surprising advances in all directions.

Most important, and quite individual for Germany, is the background of a common and intense love for Nature. A good deal of fun has been made of the German tourist, with his insistence on a mountaineer's costume; the person whom Germans themselves humorously call a '*Salontiroler*,' whose loud exclamations of pleasure sometimes break in upon the less effusive meditations of his fellow travelers, and who soon slips to a table for beer or coffee and sou-

venir postcards. He is only the humorous counterpart of the equally humorous impassive Englishman, and of the rapturous American school-teacher who refuses to view any building built after 1492. In the great mass of Germans, as a permanent precipitation, there is something quite different and deeper. The real love of Nature is a definite, genuine, and active part of the German soul. This is partly due, at least, to the fact that Nature is not bountiful to the Germans; she does not come with her cornucopia of favors and lay them prodigally at their feet. For all that, Germany is a beautiful country, of whose beauty the inhabitants are aware. They have also utilized it as a spiritual refreshment, enjoying it actively and not vicariously in its various forms. One still walks through pleasant places, unhindered by the dust and vapors from the automobiles, so that it seems as if the land still belonged to the people in some subtle, spiritual sense. Through the acquaintance with Nature and a certain preoccupation with her, in all her moods, the Germans have developed around their own natural scenery a wealth of story, legend, and even convention, which adds to the common heritage from their land and its past. What the advent of the automobile will mean to this attitude remains to be seen.

After Nature, and, indeed, almost parallel with it, comes the love of music, which in Germany is an active love, coupled with a productive desire which has not been injured by the development of the talk-

ing machine. The diffusion of music in the middle-class homes is a source of constant surprise to the stranger. People know and love music, and are not ashamed of being moved by it. The great names in music are national figures who are understood and felt. A long tradition of concert and opera makes the people familiar with the details of the art, and when the orchestra plays a classical selection there is little of that puzzled look that comes over the faces of Americans, whose every glance seems to say, 'Let me see, where DID I hear that piece before?' No one would be so simple as to suppose that every pork butcher understands Bach, or that every German school-child plays well. It is only the general average and the attitude that are important.

The reason for all this is very clear: the arts have been with Germany long enough for the people to have become acquainted with them; they have penetrated into the lives of the masses and have ceased to be regarded, as they are in America, as part of the academic, as part of education. When one examines the list of Mr. Edison's favorite tunes, as issued by the company which bears his name, one sees the difference at once. The people in America who are supposed to buy records are given his list as if it were an authoritative guide, but this list, made by a scientist without any musical training or background, leads them only to the ordinary resources of banality and sentimentality. If a good piece gets in by mistake, it is set apart as something exotic; every one has at

least one high-priced Caruso record, even if one never really plays it. And the highest attainable summit of a record in the popular mind is something from 'Lucia' or 'Rigoletto,' which must pass for a superlative creation. In Germany one dares to have an individual taste, a taste which is grounded in interest and knowledge.

Nature and music are emotional; it may be argued that they do not tell the whole story. But as one passes from one intellectual phase to another, running the whole scale, one finds a solidity, an earnestness, a seriousness toward things called cultural that is really amazing. The Middle Ages had the saying, '*Germania docet.*' We may change it to '*Germania docere potest.*' It is probable that there is much which is generally European in this; it is also quite possible that the ability of Europe to hand things down may be the last gesture of an expiring culture, a culture which is doomed to disappear before mechanistic and commercial progress. But however gloomy one may be about the political future of that continent, there can be no question that, for Germany at least, there is to be postulated a cultural and intellectual vigor which shows not the slightest signs of decadence. As cultural cycles revolve, there are sloughed off from them the excrescences which are no longer adaptable to the smooth wheel of progress, but the wheel seems ever to be able, like an undershot water-wheel, to bring from the human depths new factors, new ideas, and a freshening of ideals. The sources of inspiration from

Europe are not yet exhausted; to these sources Germany is a vast contributor. She must be kept in action, for the benefit of world civilization, till the entire Occident falls.

Added to the amount of the cultural tradition is its continuity. This continuity can be illustrated from any city or town. It is especially interesting because of certain contrasting elements in an industrial center like Leipzig, where, in spite of all the shoddiness of some of the externals, the depth of the tradition and the consistency of the atmosphere are remarkable. Neither the landscape surrounding the city nor the buildings of the city itself manifest any special values or function as stimuli; even Berlin, modern as it is, has bits of old color; monuments and out-of-the-way corners, which carry the imagination. But while Leipzig has little of this, there is, in spite of a lack of such symbols, a permeation of the city by a solid, rare, and conscious cultural tradition.¹ This tradition sustains and guides, not only the intellectual and social life, but the commercial and industrial as well. The University celebrated its five hundredth anniversary in 1909; the world-famous Gewandhaus concerts were first started in 1743, while many book firms have had an existence of more than a century, and the book catalogues of the Leipzig book fairs were the readers' guides of the early eighteenth century. If one walks down the 'Brühl' in Leipzig, one

¹ In the *Mitteilungen* of the Landesverein Sächsischer Heimatschutz, vol. 14, Heft 7-8, Dresden, 1925, there are numerous splendid views of old Leipzig.

may think one's self on Sixth or Seventh Avenue in the twenties, or on parts of Broadway where the clothing or fur people congregate, for the Brühl is all furs and from the Brühl radiates the fur business which makes Leipzig the center of that trade for the whole world. Perhaps a promenade on that street may not be inspiring; there is surely no evidence of a cultural tradition; even the house in which Richard Wagner was born, which was at No. 3, Brühl, is no longer standing, so that in this street and in some of the suburbs only the commercial and industrial present is in evidence. But then one may reflect that the fairs, of which Leipzig still makes so much, date back almost a millennium, and were centers of trade between the fur-producing East and the fur-loving West when Berlin was a mud village and Munich an insignificant monastery. It will not do to say that the mere continuity and age of an industrial tradition ennobles it; there is more than that — there is a pride in the product, a care for the reputation of the house, and a feeling for the solidarity of the spirit which makes the atmosphere quite different from the hurly-burly of American commercial practice. I have a friend, a manufacturer, whose factories have been in Leipzig for more than one hundred and seventy-five years, a hundred and fifty of which have been in his family. That man has an entirely different angle toward business from what is possible in one who started a set of chain stores ten years ago and made a million. And the man's very house shows the differ-

ence. Such a man is sure to be a gentleman, and is often a scholar or a connoisseur.

What is true of business is true of music; the *Gewandhaus* is part of the tradition of Bach and Mendelssohn, of Schumann and of Wagner. Even if the room in which the concerts are held is hideous and the glare of the lights annoying, externals are soon forgotten in the richness of the programmes, the splendor of the conducting, and the standards of the playing. It was the tradition of art as well as of scholarship that attracted the young Goethe in Leipzig, and which so enriched his life that in after years he exclaimed,

‘*Mein Leipzig lob’ ich mir,
Es ist ein klein Paris und bildet seine Leute.*’

The same points might in more or less degree be made for any city, for any province, or for any mountain range. So the Harz, Suabia, Nuremberg, each has its tradition, each has contributed to the total of German culture, and nowhere are literature and art more bound up with geography and history than in Germany.

These five points are extremely important for a correct understanding of present conditions in Germany. The lack of outward signs of the war and the seeming luxury and prosperity easily mislead the casual observer into too great optimism as to Germany’s true state. For a correct evaluation of the inner factors, emphasis must be laid on the period of isolation, while for a true appreciation of some of

Germany's real spiritual values, the importance of the cultural tradition and its continuity for all of Europe must be kept in mind. That is, we must not lose sight for a moment of the fact that Germany belongs in the general culture stream of all Europe, and that to attempt to isolate her at this time is a sheer impossibility.

If, now, we look at the inner state of Germany, there are a few other general points which are of interest. We find, for example, that there is a great deal of very sharply defined individualism in German political life; this amounts almost to a secessionistic spirit and accounts for a good deal of the difficulty which Germany has in adjusting herself to new conditions. The second point goes deeper into the German *Volksseele*, and may be defined as a curious lack of objectivity in regard to matters German. It seems well, finally, to connect with this point the German attitude toward the United States. The feeling toward America is, perhaps, the most definite reflex of the lack of objectivity.

The separatistic tendencies of the German are an historical fact. A survey of its past shows with what difficulties Germany's coalescence into a single nation was attended. Even at a time like 1871, when the national idea finally crystallized, some of the states reserved this or that particularistic right, and were tenacious in their insistence on their own local forms. It is, then, quite the order of the day to expect that, just as Germany was united after a successful

war in 1871, it would fall apart after the unsuccessful issue of 1918. The Austrian monarchy broke up according to schedule; the German congeries of states, held together by no one personal allegiance after the discredited Kaiser fled to Holland, might easily have been expected to dissipate itself into a set of petty, warring states. That it did not shows that the slow development of nationalism was a genuine adherence to an ideal and that, underneath the surface, the onward movement of history has carried the German nation forward to a definite entelechy.

At the same time, there is within the country a considerable amount of separatism, and it is quite evident that this separatism is somewhat on people's nerves. One cannot help but make comparisons in this respect between Germany and China, where civil war has been raging for so many centuries that a prominent Sinologue calls it 'the classic land of civil war.' Although soldiers loot and kill, there is in China no real dislike of one province by another. Even the Fukienese, whose language is entirely unintelligible to the rest of China, are regarded as Chinese, and belong to the 'black-haired people.' The reason for this is that there exists a permanent inner unity of Chinese civilization, based upon a unity of folk-psychology. Germany seems to have, for all its development into political unity, a certain inner discord, like the ancient Greek cities and those of mediæval Italy. The Germans are separatistic at heart, though they have not the excuse that the

Chinese might bring forward of being split into two sharply differentiated civilizations. Bavaria, the classic example of separatist tendencies in Germany, is, for all its differences in topography, religion, and point of view, by no means so individual a part of the country as is Canton in relation to North China. Or, if one looks at the attitude of Coburg toward the union of Saxon states, which were finally grouped under the administrative union now called Thuringia, one sees that the split of Coburg from the group and its joining itself to Bavaria, while ostensibly based on ethnological grounds, was really only another example of the same selfish separatism which is rumored to have made Alsace not entirely unwilling to leave Germany and its burden of reparations and to join victorious France. The Germans who view both of these incidents cannot refrain from a smirk of satisfaction when they learn that the Coburgers have got nothing from Bavaria and that the Alsatians seem to be quite disappointed at their treatment by France. If there did not exist among the Germans such a centrifugal force, the French would not so constantly attempt to set up a Rhenish buffer state, as Napoleon did with the Kingdom of Westphalia, and as the French tried to do at the end of the late war. It may be pointed out that the failure of these attempts shows that there is something stronger than separatism at work in the German national conscience. This something, called by whatever name a deep national ideal deserves to be called, execrates the attempts to

split territory from the central German mass; it is not strong enough, however, to accomplish the entire inner harmony which the constant rubbing of elbows with one's fellows has seemed to bring about in the Orient, but not in Germany.

It may be that the entire situation arises from the same overdeveloped individuality which brings about the peculiar German lack of objectivity. Each group speaking a dialect, finely shaded from the other dialects of the country, and having an individual tradition, whether it be in the peasant costume, in the concentration on some great figure in literary history, in a general tradition of literary excellence, or even in some cherished local custom or gastronomic peculiarity, clings to its folk-ways with tenacity, and tends to criticize the folk-ways of all other parts of Germany. This brings with it a good deal of name-calling, amounting at times to mild vituperation. The Northerners are satirized by the South; amusing examples of this may be found in Thoma's novels and in the Munich comic papers. But the Northerner will tell you that the Bavarians are sluggish, quarrelsome, and brutal, that they are wretched cooks and worse dieticians. I have often heard Northerners grow tragically tearful when describing the horrors of the cuisine in the Bavarian Alps. The inhabitants of the Rhine district seem, in general, to escape lightly. Perhaps some of the poetry of the river and what it means to the nation is transferred to the inhabitants of the region. In the case of the Saxons, the reverse is

true. There is no section of Germany upon which adverse opinion is more unanimous. They are designated as false, lax, sloppy, as speaking an atrocious dialect, and as being, without doubt, the worst cooks in the world, except the English. Non-Saxons who had lived in Saxony practically all their lives, constantly remarked that they never really felt at home in that state. On the other hand, the Saxons seem quite unconscious of this attitude, and they develop their own nationalism and are quite as proud of it as are other nationals of their particular local individualities. Indeed, they go farther, and taking that already cited famous text of Goethe, 'My Leipzig is a little Paris and gives its people culture,' as a basis, feel themselves a center of refinement and intellect, as, indeed, they have every right to do. In this connection, it is amusing to note that two Leipzigers, speaking the broadest Leipzig dialect, were overheard discussing the strange and uncouth Bavarian speech. While admitting that it had its originality and its place in dialect literature, their final remark was, 'What a pity that we, in Saxony, have no dialect!'

The disunity of provincial feeling and the separatism in politics do not in any way extend to Germany itself as a country. There is, innate in every German, a poetic love for nature in any part of his Fatherland. The Rhine, the Alps, the Harz, in fact any of the forest or mountain regions, and even the bare heath, appeal deeply to all. It seems characteristic that their gaze is directed inward on their country,

that they seem to love it all equally, and that one rarely hears comparisons which are derogatory to Nature in any section of it, except that their gaze seems seldom directed out to the sea. The intense love of Germans for Germany, as landscape, as nature, makes them cling with pathetic tenacity to those parts which have been lost to the Reich. By a natural extension of the idea, they become interested in those Germans who live in territory which has not been connected politically with the central German political unit for many years, as, for example, the Tirol. The feeling that such regions are ancient German culture territory plays a great part in the vivid interest which is taken in the political fortunes of the German minorities outside the confines of Germany proper. It is quite natural that the same attention should be extended to cover Germans who have emigrated to foreign parts. The war taught Germany that, by and large, the German-Americans were lost to Germany. The result was the same hurt wonder at the realization of this fact that some English seemed to feel in the war period when they discovered that America, in spite of similarity of language, had developed a civilization distinct from that of England. But for the German groups in Mexico, Brazil, and wherever else Germans are found in considerable numbers, as separate race entities, there is an extremely lively interest. There is a society for the promotion of interest in Germans living abroad (*Auslandsdeutschtum*). This is a scientific rather than a colonizing society,

though, of course, it attempts to keep up the mutual relations implied in its title. But the Germans complain constantly that, as soon as the German leaves his native land, he begins to lose his political individuality and merges himself in that of the country to which he goes. They point to the United States as an example of the process, and they themselves feel that this quality is an evidence of the separatism which has just been mentioned. But it is not only in the United States that the process takes place; it requires the type of connection which is represented by such a settlement as Tsingtao in Shantung to keep up a strong political nexus.¹

¹ The question of whether Germany ought to have colonies is warmly debated. The general opinion is that she should, and that the taking away of her entire colonial possessions is an insult to her national pride. Many have forgotten the gibes of former days, when it was reported that the only exports to the African colonies were soldiers and bottled beer and that the only imports from Africa were dead soldiers and empty beer bottles. Now the deprivation spells something else: it is a part of the entire loss of prestige, of the international setbacks which Germany has had to suffer since the war. There is a very, very small group among the extreme Right parties who argue for a closed Germany (*Fichte's Geschlossener Handelsstaat*), who think that there is no need for colonies until Germany has thoroughly righted herself from within. On the whole, the Germans would welcome colonies. One group has advocated the exchange of the remedies for sleeping-sickness for an African mandate, but most Germans feel that such bargaining, when the broad good of humanity is at stake, is unworthy of a civilized nation.

The attitude toward Kiaochow and the city of Tsingtao is somewhat different. This district was not a colony, but was 'leased territory' in which Germany had sovereign rights. It seems as if the building of this charming little jewel in the Orient had brought, besides the economic, certain social and sentimental, elements which were lacking in the case of the tropical colonies. With the loss of Tsingtao, there went, also, the loss of extraterritorial rights in China, though this loss does not seem in any way to have affected German standing with the Chinese. Tsingtao was peculiar: it was built from nothing to be something unique; its loss was

That the clinging to institutions and customs is as strong as the ability to hold together politically is weak, is so well known and has been discussed so much that it need not be more than mentioned.

felt as touching a different nerve. There is no contrast between civilizations in the tropics, but at Tsingtao there was not only the rivalry with the International Settlement at Shanghai, with the concessions at Tientsin and elsewhere, and with the English Hongkong, but there was the contrast with Chinese civilization, which, whatever its defects in hygiene and sanitation, is still a high-grade civilization. The Germans were thoroughly on their mettle in Shantung. Their road-building and afforestation alone would bring them into the front rank of administrators, and made the settlement a model for the rest of China. Its loss, then, has different features from that of the loss of the tropical colonies. It was a rivalry in the temperate zone, under conditions of climate in which the Germans themselves could as easily live as in their own home.

With the shift in the attitude of the peoples in the various colonies in the world, with the self-determination of the so-called 'inferior' races, there has come a new insight into the problem in Germany. It is now being argued — and with a great deal of common-sense — that in the end the loss of colonies may not, after all, be a bad thing for Germany in the final appreciation of that country by the peoples in question. The time is coming, so it is argued, when the nations of Europe will have to give up their colonies, whether willingly or by force. When they have to take this step, Germany will not be ranged on the side of an imperialism which is not outworn, but which is no longer being tamely accepted by the 'dark' races of the world. It is pointed out that the British Dominions, for all their imperialist loyalty to the Empire, are actually independent; that India and China are more than restive under British influence; that France has her hands full; and that the revolts in the Dutch Indies are constant. The Philippines are another example of the same tendency. So that Germany will be spared the expense of campaigns to maintain colonies, or the difficulty of readjusting her economic scheme to meet their loss. She will not even have to undergo any gradual shift or any worry about raw materials, any tariff or other reform. She can go ahead in the new order of things with more modern policies than any other country and with cleaner skirts than her neighbors. The doctrine of the 'mailed fist' is being rapidly forgotten by nations which find in Germany a country not practicing imperialism, but suffering from it. It is, at least, an interesting point of view, even if not widely held.

See an interesting article on the Germans in South Brazil: *Geographical Review*, October, 1926.

From what has been said above, it will be clear that political separatism can lead and has led to a certain amount of racial differentiation such as America is familiar with through the activities of the K.K.K. The Nordic idea is growing in Germany, and the desire to be a member of that much-idealized race has caused many a squat, round-headed, gray-eyed, bow-legged proponent loudly to proclaim the doctrine of its superiority. In the minds of those who follow out the pernicious theories of Grant and his school, there is considerable contempt for the European non-Nordics, but the great animus is, of course, anti-Semitic. As Germany has no serious color problem, there is no such feeling toward the negroes as is found in America, but, on the other hand, there is no such assimilation as is taking place in France. In fact, the quartering of the black troops on the Rhine was, from the French point of view, by no means so heinous an offense to morality as it seemed to the Germans. This leaves out of consideration, of course, the tyrannies and brutalities, and takes into consideration only the fact that the French have an extremely broad point of view toward the blacks. This breadth of point of view extends to sexual and social, as well as to political, relations, and is neither understood nor shared by the Germans. The French behaved abominably, but after one has been in present-day France and has seen the number of white women consorting with negro men, one understands that the quartering of the black troops on the Rhine was not any special insult.

In the attitude toward Orientals, the French are quite as tolerant as they are toward the negro: Frenchmen, negroes, Annamites march side by side in French regiments. The Germans, who show no signs of race prejudice in the Orient itself, hold aloof in Germany, rather more than the French seem to in France, though both Chinese and Japanese have assured me that the German women make wonderful wives. The Oriental in Germany is still a good deal of an exotic, and it is amusing to one who has lived among them for years to find that many Germans are actually afraid of Chinese and Japanese and refuse to rent rooms to them because of timidity. There is a good deal of political bitterness against the Japanese which was caused by their attitude in the war. The extreme expression of this bitterness is that 'the Japanese drew their political ideas from Germany, but their political morals from England.'¹

The concentration of racial hatred is directed toward the Jews, although there are fewer of them in all Germany than in New York City alone. As in America, there are all types of Jew hatred and Jew baiting. Some of it is based upon conviction, and tries to draw its conclusions from a serious study of anthropological and ethnological data. Such a reflex is found in Günther's 'Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes,' a book which was written independently of Madison Grant's 'The Passing of the Great Race,' but

¹ This statement dates from 1915, and its distinguished author has probably softened his views by this time. |

entirely in the style of that work. It contains an extremely interesting study of the race history of the Jews, and is widely known in all classes in Germany. It has, of course, been answered, but whatever animus inspires the book, it nevertheless remains a serious study of the problem. At the other end of the scale in value are the works of a member of the Thuringian Parliament named Dinter, who sees in the Jewish race the sole cause of every evil in the world, from capitalism to venereal disease. This attitude is reflected in anti-Semitism everywhere in Germany; there is even a considerable group which believes that the World War was a conspiracy of Hebrew bankers. It would be interesting to have this group meet for a debate with those who hold that the world revolution of the Communists is a Jewish plot to control the world. Several of my acquaintances were quite ready to reconcile the two ideas. The feeling against the Jews is fostered by the idea that they were never found at the front during the war and that they were nothing but profiteers. I was assured a number of times that Woodrow Wilson was a Jew and that a proof of this was that the war settlement was entirely in the interest of Hebrew capitalism. I was able to discount the importance of this statement, when I learned that in Russia, before 1917, Lincoln was thought and taught to have been a Jew, and that it is generally held that George Bernard Shaw belongs to the same race. Many of those who hold anti-Semitic views complain that the United States is completely

in the hands of the race and that, under these circumstances, there is no hope that the world will escape ultimate complete Jewish domination. Henry Ford is widely known for his anti-Semitism, which is regarded as a further evidence of his keen business acumen. The anti-Semitic group is convinced that the Jews are aiming at world power, that they are getting ready to accomplish a world revolution in which they will reduce the world to economic slavery. All this has a familiar ring to Americans. The Germans pointed out, also, with great bitterness, that certain professions seem to be rapidly becoming the monopoly of the Jewish race and that the young Jews were finding it possible to study at the universities in greater and greater proportion, where the young Christians were barred by poverty from an academic career. The problem is a vexed one, because it has an economic as well as a sentimental background, and in present-day Germany economic conditions are so severe that a race with the purposefulness, the solidarity, and the mental ability of the Jews, combined with their well-known aversion to the coarser forms of manual labor, is bound to be felt, not merely as a disturbing element, but as a dangerous separate entity within the economic and the political body.

Once having understood any foreign point of view sufficiently to meet it, it ought to be easy for a German to get the angle of the foreigner on himself, but it is just this which the German seems completely unable to do. All nations have their failings in this respect,

but it is most obvious in the Germans and constitutes, with its concomitants, their one really serious defect in national character. Each individual German is extremely 'touchy' on the subject of his personal dignity and extends this touchiness to his whole nation and its *mores*. At present, the implications involved are his place in the family of nations; over and over again one heard complaints that the idea that the Germans were barbarians, 'Huns,' and all that, was a misunderstanding of German character, a misreading of history, a distortion of facts — indeed, was a plain lie. In learned circles, for instance, there was not nearly so much resentment at having been excluded from the League of Nations, in which the more conservative groups had little faith, as there was in being excluded from learned societies and in being prohibited from attending scientific congresses. There was a noticeable tenderness toward those nations which, like Spain, Mexico, and even the United States, had already extended the hand of intellectual fellowship, and great bitterness against those French scholars who had refused to sit with Germans in this or that learned society. Every change in attitude is noticed in the German learned publications. The point of view shows to a certain extent how fundamentally unpolitically minded the Germans really are.

It is very difficult to make any criticisms of German customs or institutions without being misunderstood. Sometimes the hypersensitiveness seems positively pathological; one suggests changes in food, suggests

that the lack of card catalogues in libraries makes it difficult to look up books, and is met with a blank wall of opposition. It would seem that the Germans think their institutions perfect, but actually they do not, and in many fields they are constantly changing and improving them. Criticisms by the foreigner of the Government and of Government policy are not taken as much amiss as strictures on other things. By criticism is not meant mere carping or abuse, but objective examination of institutions from an international point of view. There are striking similarities between the Germans and the Chinese in this. It is a question of what is called in the Orient 'face pigeon'; both the Chinese and the Germans resent more than anything else loss of 'face,' that subtle derogation of personality and of personal dignity, which, if persisted in, nullifies every other good impression and good deed in the Far East. 'Face,' which, in the final instance, is at the basis of much of the anti-foreign spirit in the Orient, is a strong actuating motive among the Germans. A proof of this may be found in the fact that the Germans, without the tact of the French or the heartiness of the Americans, are able, seemingly unconsciously, to avoid violating this principle among Orientals and thus to get on with them, all in all, better than any other Occidentals.

No one would call the Germans an obtuse people, yet it seems almost impossible for them to realize that resentment of criticism on their part has given the world its entirely erroneous opinion of their character.

Far from being pachydermatous, as the world is too apt to think them, they are really very thin-skinned, and the mask of brusqueness often conceals real softness and sentimentality. It is difficult to find, except in a few extreme groups, any one who takes any other attitude toward the war and its causes than that the Germans were innocent victims of aggression. Only a very few of them visualize themselves as part of the entire European structure, the faults of which precipitated the world into that conflict of which all were at bottom equally guilty. If one insists that the fear complex of the French was and still is real, they shake their heads; the individual has no evil intentions, and he too seldom conceives himself as an unconscious atom whirled along in the mass of emotions or stupidities that lead to conflicts. Isolation for a number of years has added to this attitude, so that many Germans simply cannot understand how they were jockeyed into the position before the world in which they still, to a great extent, find themselves. In attempting to explain the rise of this sentiment the following incident occurred:

It was pointed out to a group of Germans that during the war every advantage was taken, as a means of propaganda, of those incidents and actions which might be interpreted as militaristic or as anti-American. One of these incidents was that of Admiral Dietrichs, in Manila Bay, during the battle there. Not one German with whom I spoke had ever heard of the affair, which in its time caused a great stir, and

which was dished up during the war to help get the United States into an anti-German mood. When it was remarked that Germany's pro-Spanish feeling was used against her, two very charming and pacifist ladies exclaimed that of course Germany, being chivalrous, was on the side of the weaker power. It was then carefully pointed out that perhaps the same might have been the case with Belgium and that the so-called 'rape' of Belgium had had the same effect on the popular mind in the United States. But the good ladies could only state, with every indication of finality, 'But that was entirely different; Belgium had secret treaties with France!' No argument availed against this point of view. They could not see, though they were anything but reactionary in politics, that *noblesse oblige* might be applied to the actions of other countries as well as to those of Germany.

Now it is well known that Americans are resentful of criticism of their native land, but there is a distinct difference between their attitude and that of the Germans. With the latter, the resentment is prone to become immediately personal. This brings a distinctly bad tone into literary criticism, book reviewing, and into editorials against any political doctrine, so that one cannot say that the touchiness is confined to resenting criticism from foreigners; the native has the same difficulties to contend with. For example, a case which aroused some very bitter comment was that of Ebert's son-in-law, who went to Italy and, in a moment of sportiveness, wrote in the guest book of a

hotel in Palermo, 'In your beautiful hotel I can even forget that a Hindenburg is President of Germany.' Some reactionary officer who saw this insertion carefully cut out the page and brought it to Germany, where the young man in question was immediately tried on some charge or other, fined a month's salary, and subjected to a good deal of ragging. In the first place, the Socialist parades sang far worse lampoons on Hindenburg, and carried far more anti-Government banners than the words in the hotel register, which any one with a sense of humor would have laughed off and which is capable of more than one interpretation. But in the circles in which I traveled, all were united in execrating this deed as insulting, as boorish, and so on. It never occurred to any one that the informer was a nasty cad, and that the whole farce was really ridiculous. The court and Hindenburg himself were evidently more sensible than the press and public opinion, for the sentence was light. But several people said, 'He has queered himself forever.'

As good an illustration as any to show the lack of objectivity occurred in a university where the attempt had been made to introduce debating on the model of the English and American debating systems. The professor who tried the project was compelled to give it up because the tone of the meetings became so personal. The questions were taken so seriously that the students began to insult each other when their opinions did not coincide, till the professor despaired of ever getting a calm, objective attitude on the part

of the students. When I suggested that such conduct was childish, he admitted it, but remarked that the questions which were discussed were real and so the students became as excited over them as if they had been broached in a real parliament. Of course that did not alter the situation or vitiate the criticism. The incident illustrates both the lack of objectivity and the lack of proper training in real living affairs in the *Gymnasium*. The students are not sufficiently trained in objective evaluation of other people's ideas.

The attitude arises from the fact that the Germans take everything too seriously. A certain foreign lecturer who was invited to speak on the geography of China before a popular audience of several hundred gave his talk a consistently humorous turn, and had for his reward the remark, '*Er nimmt uns nicht für voll.*' ('He doesn't take us seriously enough.') The Germans idealize their country and are serious about its institutions to a degree with which we are entirely unfamiliar. The whole impinging universe becomes a part of them, of their inner selves, and so, through an access of subjectivity, they 'evolve the camel out of their own inner consciousness.' The trait has affected their literature, where the light essay is almost unknown; wherever it is attempted, as occasionally among the ultra-moderns, it has a completely artificial ring. This same trait affects their comic papers, which rarely are genial or 'dry' in their humor; it affects their art, which finds only rarely a

Spitzweg, and which tends rather to the romantic extremes of a Feuerbach or to the excesses of a modern post-impressionist. The good sides are apparent: they bring to the world thoroughness, substantiality, deep feeling, fidelity, real kindliness, and a host of other qualities for which the world has plenty of need; but the bad sides lay their possessors open to a ridicule which the Germans can little afford, and which makes them writhe when they realize that they are the butt of it.

An American traveler in Europe is naturally struck by the attitude of Europeans toward America. It is very frequently an index to their relative objectivity. Though the British have been bitter at the debt-collecting proclivities of the United States, it is quite apparent that they understand the position of that country, and they evince their understanding by an attempt at settlement, even though that attempt has raised their taxes and, to a certain extent, has had definite and severe economic consequences. The Frenchman, who has never really been shaken out of the idea of the intellectual and cultural supremacy of France, can hardly be called unobjective; he is rather completely unconscious of the necessity of the objective point of view, and, in this instance, presents to the world the most astonishing example of a solid phalanx of selfishness. There can be no doubt that the French see the question only from the pocketbook angle. To the Frenchman, the American point of view is simply preposterous, and he sees no

more reason for paying the Americans than the latter did for paying him rent for his battlefields. The Germans have a still different complex. They understand the foreign point of view, realize that payment must be made, and, whatever lack of objectivity there may be in the matter, it is less connected with the pocketbook than it is with the matter of national honor and pride. The Frenchman, for all his intellectual and social tolerance, cannot see that his actions call for criticism; the Englishman, for all his sensitive reserve, will sharply criticize his native land, extending his strictures to his Government, its policy, and even to his own institutions, which, however, he is really not ready to change. The German resents criticism, but understands the force of the argument that wars cost money. The Englishman is objective, without being constructively critical; the Frenchman is neither objective nor critical toward himself; the German is critical without being objective. This characterizes the German attitude toward America in most matters.

Even if no tactless American tourists in Europe had plastered their suitcases with depreciated currency, the idea would still be current that America is a land in which every one is rich. Of course the Europeans are right. America is rich, and the average level upon which the American lives in domestic comfort, and especially his mobility, surpass anything which is known to the average European. It was a Hollander who remarked that the American

passion for travel makes the great difference between the American and the European. The latter has for his first care the founding of his family fortunes; the American's first care is to see the world. While this is, of course, only relatively true, there is enough truth in it to make it difficult for the average European to understand that a good many American travelers use a trip to Europe, not merely as a social, but as an economic lever to raise themselves into a better position; this is the case with the crowds of school teachers who conscientiously overrun Europe each year. The American attitude is perhaps better understood in Germany than in most other countries in Europe, but even there the actual facts in regard to travel by American students and teachers are swept away by the extravagances of the wealthy casual tourists.

The newspaper statistics as to the number of automobiles in America also convince the Germans that every American must be wealthy. They do not understand that the car is a compensation for other unattainable things; that it is in many cases needed to get about, to cover our longer distances, and that its possession does not imply wealth. The difference in the cost of motor vehicles, fuel, and accessories is not sufficiently taken into consideration, nor is it clearly understood that in America the average person does not have a chauffeur. In Europe, the man who owns a car has a social status which requires the dignity of a chauffeur, and this picture is unconsciously

transferred to America, to the detriment of the truth.

Another very important element in the picture of a fabulously rich America is due, not merely to the war and the vast resources which America was able to bring to the struggle, but also to the relief work which was undertaken by America at its close. This relief work came at a time when, in Germany especially, the country was completely prostrate, and the impression made by the assistance from America left an enduring mark on the German imagination. The Society of Friends has eliminated more bitterness from the spirits of thousands of Germans than can ever be calculated in terms of visible results. And it may be said, in passing, that the relief work of the Americans, in general, has left the impression, even upon people who dislike America politically, that America is a country always ready and willing to help, and that helpfulness is a trait of American character. This note is constantly struck, without either flattery or servility. Nevertheless, the Germans are well aware of the ultimate destination of their reparations, and so they understand that rich America is becoming ever richer.

Germany theoretically understands that America is a land of continental proportions, but it has not envisaged this practically in its interpretation of America as a social phenomenon. America is constantly being compared, not with Europe, but with this or that European country, and thus its picture

in the German mind is repeatedly distorted. Until Germany — or, in fact, Europe as a whole — can understand that the social pattern of America is continental, it is bound to misinterpret what is taking place in the States. In attempting an evaluation of the United States, the European naturally uses his own social pattern as a guide. Even the most unprejudiced observer is compelled to admit that the European pattern of the present day still consists, long after the war, in far too great a measure of hate, suspicion, jealousy, economic rivalry, and nationalistic pride. When these are joined to linguistic differences, which have been accentuated by shifts of boundary since the war, it is easy to see that the Micawber-like psychology of the people of the United States is extremely difficult for the European to understand. When the further fact is taken into consideration that Europe, which has its own tradition in art and literature, is still far too little acquainted with the equivalent phenomena in America, it will be understood that the breach in understanding is very wide. The gap cannot be filled merely by the reading of a few modern novelists like Sinclair Lewis. For Germany, there is an additional point to be taken into consideration; that is, the obvious discrepancy in the case of America between promise and opportunity on the one hand, and achievement and fulfillment on the other. Germany needs to be inducted far more thoroughly into the human elements which obtain in the United States, and to understand

their limitations. Nor are the Germans well enough acquainted with inner political questions in the United States to understand their bearing on international policy. Too much of the typical feeling for America is found expressed by a ballet performed by one of Reinhardt's troupes. The title was 'New York,' and the effect was simply of a tearing tempo, horrid cacophony, and a set of characters composed mainly of demi-mondaines, of bizarre workers, allegorical but negritic, and of events which consisted largely of motor accidents. It is difficult for the Germans to realize that there is a prose side of American life, that not every one works and plays at jazz tempo, and that there are social and economic struggles in American as well as in any other industrial civilization.

The influence of American literature is still really negligible. It is astonishing how many Germans still draw their ideas of what America is like from Cooper's novels, seasoned with some Whitman and Poe. The modern novelists are also being translated, or read in the original, and those make the greatest appeal, naturally enough, who present the most sharply critical picture of American life, though Jack London is also widely read for his spirit of adventure. There are forces at work which are slowly bringing America as a literary fact to the attention of the Germans, through translations, through lectures, and through university courses. In this, the University of Berlin is preëminent, but there are good courses given at several other institutions. While it is not possible

anywhere in Germany to make a comprehensive study either of American literature or history, there are excellent beginnings, and the work is carried on with great thoroughness. In spite of all this, there are not many figures in American literature who stand out. From my own observation in lecturing before German student audiences on American problems, I found that even authors of such divergent types as Mrs. Wharton, Booth Tarkington, Dorothy Canfield, and Dreiser were utterly unknown. There was some slight knowledge of Hergesheimer and of Frank Norris, and once, when I mentioned Mrs. Atherton, one student on the floor scraped his feet, as a sign of disapproval. Current American lyric poetry is a total blank. I was told again and again that the high cost of American books prevents their being bought in Germany; unless they are pirated by Tauchnitz, the Germans have little chance of seeing them. The same is true of the American magazine; the 'Saturday Evening Post' is known to a few, but by far the most widely known American journal is the 'Christian Science Monitor.' There were hardly any traces of either the radical or conservative weeklies or of the standard monthlies to be found anywhere.

If American literature is only just beginning to filter into Germany, other American arts are even less known. Echoes of Eugene O'Neill are heard, and there are a few reminiscences of other dramatic movements, but the successful efforts to build up a native drama in America are entirely unknown to the

Germans, who still listen to 'Charley's Aunt' as a typical picture of American life. They know something of American vaudeville artists, but they are entirely unacquainted with the American stage tradition and background. In pictorial and plastic art there is even a greater lacuna; neither Winslow Homer nor George Innes had ever been heard of by those with whom I talked. On the other hand, the influence of American domestic architecture was beginning to be felt, even though there was no building going on. It was seen that America had made a definite contribution in this field. The problem of the sky-scraper and its artistic merits were thoroughly understood in those places where it was discussed. This type of building has struck the German imagination.

Two manifestations of American genius — using the word 'genius' in a very broad sense — jazz and the film — have perhaps as great an influence on Germany as any other current from America. Germany was flooded with American films; these were the usual films, mostly cheap sentimental trash or slap-stick comedy, and had exactly the same influence in misrepresenting America that they have everywhere else in the world. These films represent the tragedy of American achievement in far distant lands, and it is better silently to draw the curtain of charity over them in shame and humiliation.

The attitude may be judged by the advertisements of the Dempsey-Tunney fight film in the news-

papers: 'The interest of the whole world was concentrated on September 4, 1926, on one point: the stadium in Philadelphia. 135,000 people were gathered here. From all parts of America they streamed together — all Hollywood was there. . . . Chaplin Doug and Mary Pola Negri Scandalous prices were demanded for tickets — up to \$1,200 — and paid!! A vast mass of humans stares breathlessly at the ring searchlights flash film operators lie in wait screams of greeting there they come — Dempsey and Tunney, the modern gladiators. The usual formalities then the struggle begins, the struggle for the world championship, the battle of the Titans four million in forty minutes, etc.' The punctuation is that of the original and the four million is, naturally, marks. The same number of the paper advertises a Griffith play as 'a criminal affair from the dark sides of American metropolitan life'; a Fairbanks film, one by Lillian Gish, and a few European films. But the large type and the sensational advertising are reserved almost exclusively for the American productions. Berlin acted just as foolishly over Mary Pickford and Fairbanks as America did over the Queen of Rumania.

The Germans like jazz (pronounced *yots*, to rhyme with *pots*), imitate it, and are even trying to discover its philosophy, as they are interested in its origin. We may very soon expect learned dissertations on the subject. It is used as dance music everywhere, and

the music shops are filled with jazz instruments. The land of Beethoven and Bach did not know MacDowell, but was making great preparations to receive Paul Whiteman. Musical saws were on sale in the music shops of small towns. To many Germans, jazz typifies America. The young people feel, in some way or other, that to get into its rhythm is to get out of the slower pace of German life; they feel exhilarated by the more rapid tempo; and this result of the war can be observed among the youth of the entire world.

It may be inferred from what has just been remarked that there is no steady, constructive influence of America on Germany, and that even the reciprocal cultural relations are not clear, nor are they necessarily beneficial. It is also unfortunate that German travelers in America, such as Roda Roda and Alfred Kerr, have confused the picture. They and the newspapers pick out almost exclusively the sensational or the grotesque, and emphasize these to the practical exclusion of all else.

An illustration of this point is the thoroughly ludicrous and yet slightly exasperating attitude of the Germans toward the American woman and her capabilities. It is generally considered by the Germans that America is woman-ridden, and that American husbands are the economic as well as the social slaves of their wives. In a hotel in Cologne, the following characteristic conversation was overheard: 'Yes, since the English have left, the servants are returning to German families, but the English have spoiled all

the servants.' 'The English, however, were not as bad as the American officers, who never let their wives do any work at all and who were even willing to be seen pushing a baby-carriage through the streets.' This is not an isolated opinion, for the picture of the American woman which is presented by the German *feuilleton* is highly uncomplimentary. We were repeatedly told that American women were wretched housekeepers. One charming old lady exclaimed to my wife, 'And you are a professor, too! How is that possible? I am sure I should not have time for any intellectual work, with my family and my housekeeping.' Then, as if a recollection had quite clarified the point, 'But, of course, you have time for teaching and writing, because you Americans never pay any attention to housekeeping!' When it was pointed out that the entire lack of servants among the middle classes of America was bound to throw a considerable burden of labor upon the woman, especially if she had children, the objection was airily waved aside with the remark that we had so many electric appliances in America that the work was made almost automatic, and that her sister-in-law had told her that all American women took housekeeping very lightly.

These criticisms were especially amusing when one considers German housekeeping as a whole. The preparation of the breakfast amounts to nothing, considering that the Continental meal is coffee and rolls. The dinner is more elaborate, but in middle-

class homes and in reasonable *pensions* has an entirely unimaginative cuisine, the weakest point of which is the desserts. The suppers are invariably cold cuts which take no time to prepare, with the addition of tea, and, if money permits, one other course which is usually not elaborate (for instance, fried eggs and fried potatoes). There is little baking done in the house; home laundry is rarely done more often than once a month, and, while the houses are kept clean, there seems to be, all in all, no more to do than in an American household of the same size. Indeed, the average German housewife can still count upon a servant, though wages have increased tremendously, and the quality of the product seems none too good. There is, therefore, no reason whatsoever why the German housewife should feel herself in the least superior to the American. The simple fact is that the Germans never have understood the intricacies of American life and German isolation during the war has not clarified their ideas.

It is impossible to go into the details of the attitude of Germany toward America on economic questions. That the Germans hope for a large influx of American capital is well known. One German voiced the opinion that America should be induced to invest as much capital as possible in Germany, in order that when the next war threatened she would be so deeply involved that she would prevent such a war through fear of injuring her German investments. He added that, if Germany had been able to connect

herself as closely with America as England and France were connected, the World War would never have started. Whether this be true or not is beside the point; it represents, at least, an opinion held by many.

The points at issue between Germany and America are primarily the restoration of alien property confiscated by the United States during the war, and the whole question of 'dumping.' The Germans eagerly look forward to receiving their property, the confiscation of which was universally held by them to be an offense against civilization. The tariff wall was also looked at with a hostile eye, for, as was repeatedly pointed out, the nature of the peace settlement demands that every German work at fever heat to pay the bills. For a country like Germany, the payment must ultimately be in the form of manufactured goods. If the surplus of these cannot find a market in America, it is practically impossible for the Germans to face the demands which are being made on them. This is all the more true, as they point out, because the Russian market is crippled, and other markets, such as Australia, are still more or less closed to them. The actual result has been for the Germans to redouble their efforts to recapture Oriental markets, and in this they are to a certain extent succeeding.

If America looms up in international trade before German eyes as a specter which may bode good or evil, there is no doubt that, as far as internal business

affairs are concerned, Germany is being strongly influenced by American methods. When the announcement was made that five hundred and sixty-five business men were coming to attend the Leipzig Fair, there was general rejoicing. Efforts were at once made to extend them a proper welcome and to see that interpreters were at hand. It would have been ludicrous, if it had not been pathetic, to watch the ups and downs of news of this visit in the daily press. The disappointment when the number was finally materially reduced was very great. This, however, is only an individual instance of the desire for direct contacts with the outside world. There was, for example, an entirely legendary visit of a group of Chinese business men announced for the fall of 1926, and, long after the legend was exploded in the trade magazines, the fiction still persisted in the news columns.

Deeper than the desire for immediate contacts, with a definite outlet for goods — a desire which is natural to the business world everywhere — is the deep impression which American business and industrial methods are at the present moment making on Germany. The Taylor system has been known for a long time, whereas the American type of advertising, of training for business, in fact, the whole concept of business administration, with all of its subsidiary forms, is gradually taking hold of the German imagination. There are many translations of books in this field, and the trade journals are very

definitely advocating American methods. The universities, too, are beginning to develop courses in bookkeeping and practical accounting. In fact, if present tendencies are developed with any momentum, Germany may find herself exposed to all the evils of over-advertising, high-power salesmanship, and the big-business point of view. There were already 'White Weeks' in the shops, and various other indications that the technique of the American sales-appeal had taken hold.

One of the most interesting American problems for the Germans is that of prohibition. It may be said in general that the majority of Germans regard prohibition as a real danger, and fear its spread to Germany from America. They watch the progress of the movement with an uneasy eye and, in general, welcome every set-back which prohibition receives. There is almost universal ignorance of the historical and social background which brought about the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment, while the difference between this and the Volstead Act is, of course, not understood in most circles. The whole idea of total prohibition is regarded as a species of unpleasant madness, in line with those leveling tendencies so apparent everywhere in America.

There are several definite reasons for the German attitude toward prohibition in America. There is, first of all, though not necessarily most important, the economic aspect of the case; Germany would like to export wine and beer to America, and the desire is

natural enough when one considers the desperate state of the German wine-growers in 1925, when it was said that there was so much wine in stock that it did not pay to harvest the new crop of grapes, especially as Germans themselves were too poor to drink much wine. Then there is the social reason. Long ago, before prohibition was dreamed of as a possibility, the Germans pointed out what an enormous *Kultur* would disappear with the disappearance of social drinking, and this, from the standpoint of German life, seems to them a real loss. Upon conviviality depends a certain social tone which is valued by the people of Europe, and which the Puritan tradition prevented from developing in America. There is, at this point, a sharp contrast of social ideals between the civilizations of the two countries, and no amount of argument will change the opinion of Europe on this subject. The type of drinking which is indulged in in Germany seems to the Germans a part of nature, and, indeed, when one is transplanted into German civilization and German social life, when one lives in a German atmosphere, the whole question seems automatically to adjust itself to new angles. While there is, of course, a great deal too much drinking in Germany, and while many of the common people are sodden, the general average, since less hard liquor is consumed, is not so bad as it was in America. The mellowing influence of the German attitude casts a certain roseate glow over the whole performance.

It must be admitted that a great deal of the

German attitude toward prohibition rests on conservatism and sheer prejudice. As it is something new, people are suspicious of it and therefore resent it. The personal liberty argument is heard most often, but without any significant additions to what is already familiar to American readers. The conduct of American travelers in Europe adds to the German feeling that perhaps the whole prohibition movement is after all only a colossal piece of hypocrisy. The tales told by traveling Americans about the movement add to the general contempt in which prohibition is held; the returning German-Americans manfully assist in this.

The German newspapers carry on a very vigorous and thoroughly unscrupulous propaganda against prohibition. There is an almost daily production of articles, long or short, statistical, ironical, or pseudo-scientific; from their character, it seems as if they must be largely 'plate,' and may emanate from American sources. A good many of them contain obvious lies. What is especially interesting is the frequent juxtaposition of bitter anti-prohibition articles with local news items dealing with crimes caused by drink. The inconsistency is an interesting example of the real lack of objectivity which characterizes the newspaper attitude toward the question.

Though the majority of the German people have no understanding of the feeling on the part of those Americans who are passionately devoted to the cause of prohibition, and while they have no faith in its

success, there is a definite and not inconsiderable group in Germany which sees that prohibition is a very important and valuable social experiment. This group is aware of the drink evil, and wishes to do something to ameliorate it in Germany. The remedy, however, seems practically never to be total prohibition, but confines itself to the idea of limiting the drinking of spirits, especially among the lower classes. Whatever progress is made in this direction will be based upon hygienic and economic reasons and will be entirely apart from religious fanaticism. Some of the heaviest drinkers I met in Germany, were, in religion, the most thoroughgoing fundamentalists.

There is much less drinking in Germany than there was years ago. Perhaps this is because people cannot afford it. Certainly, many people who would have served six or seven wines before the war now serve but two, and one is often asked whether one will have red or white and is, in general, seemingly not supposed to take both. The students drink much less, and there is a strong temperance movement among them. One is surprised to find how frequently tea is taken instead of beer. As drinking fits in so completely with the German student picture, it is difficult to envisage German student life entirely divorced from it. But it is equally difficult to envisage German students drinking in the spirit which is reported of the American college *mores* of to-day.

The most important attitude of Germany toward

America is naturally its attitude toward the spiritual and intellectual aspects of American life. One asks one's self the question, 'Do the Germans respect the Americans in these matters as they do their nearer neighbors?' The answer must be, unfortunately, 'No.' It may be said that the German scientist is well acquainted with the work of his American colleague, and that he respects American scientific labors, where they are worthy of being respected. There are some breaks in the continuity of this chain, due to interruptions caused by the war, but, in general, German scientists are *au courant* with what is being done in the United States in their respective fields. It may, however, also be said, without reserve, that America is, for the average German, a place of strange contrasts and of little intellectual or artistic merit. Here, again, the newspapers do their usual share in confusing the issue. There is an ever-recurrent type of item, purely imaginary in character, which serves to keep, not only the middle- and lower-class Germans, but the Continental Europeans, as a whole, in a state of nervous anticipation in regard to America. On a conservative estimate, there is hardly a month that goes by in which the tale of a vast fortune inherited by some one in Europe from a long-lost relative in America does not make its triumphant way through the daily press. During the winter of 1925-26 the recipient was either a waiter in a restaurant or a charwoman in a public building, but the sum, as fixed for that year, was thirteen

millions. It is an actual literal fact that in any given hotel, as soon as it was known that our party of five was American, we were approached by some porter or waiter or by some one in the town to ask about the possibilities of inheriting money from some relative who had gone to America and who had disappeared. The pitiful economic condition which has financial expectations only messianic in character need not be dwelt upon; it is obvious, though, that throughout the length and breadth of Europe, America is still El Dorado.

With this attitude as a background, and with the news items from America still mainly automobile accidents, blizzards, or heat prostrations, it is no wonder that the picture of the United States does not stand out very clearly in the minds of the Germans. It was rather surprising to learn that even the K.K.K. was not thoroughly understood, though Fundamentalism and the Dayton trial, known in Germany as the '*Affenprozess*,' had been much discussed everywhere. The German attitude is that this trial represents an incredible return to mediævalism, and from it they deduce that America is a land in which, in spite of constitutional guarantees, religious freedom is unknown. It added to their already strong belief that there is in America a vast amount of hypocrisy.

For various reasons, America seems to the Germans to have leveled off all individuality in thinking to the dull uniformity of a single social pattern. The reasons

for this opinion are to be found, first, in such legislative attempts as that of prohibition, in the suppression of public opinion during the war, and in the influence of statements contained in such novels as 'Main Street,' where, it will be remembered, Lewis not only paints a picture of drab monotony, but points out how such leveling factors as the Sunday supplement and plate material influence Americans everywhere. It is to be feared that the intellectual reputation of the average American does not stand very high in Germany, which, unfortunately, is still too little acquainted with the American literature of protest, and with the struggle for expression that characterizes American life under the surface. The best that Germany knows after Emerson is Ralph Waldo Trine and his school. We are accused of thinking alike, of dressing alike, in fact of doing everything by the platoon system. Our own struggle against this, against the periodic waves of hysteria for cross-word puzzles, *ma chang*, radio, or royalty, never reach European shores, and we stand stripped bare of our former democratic grandeur, as somewhat ridiculous figures before the European world. It is just here that Europe in general needs to learn more of the Continental pattern of American civilization before passing such ruthless judgments upon its failures. The Germans, for example, have no conception of the task of assimilating, in a mere physical, sanitary, or educational way, the vast immigrant population of the United States. The cultural task of

a nation like Germany, in spite of inner discord and outward enmity, is comparatively simple, when compared with the proportions of the task which faces the United States of America.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REACTIONS

PERHAPS, even before the outbreak of the World War, there were many in America who lamented because the Germany of the early twentieth century was no longer the Germany of Goethe and Schiller. What these spirits actually deplored was not classical Germany. This, for all its humaneness, possessed great cultural vigor; it could have spurred any nation; and it surely did spur Germany forward to the wars of Liberation and thence, *via* the nineteenth century, to that faceted hardness which was so obviously one characteristic of the nation in the years just preceding 1914. What was really missed was not the classic Germany of its great period, but the softer, gentler Germany of Matthisson, of Hebel, of Eichendorff, of Novalis, where moonlight romanticism, gentle melancholy, or delightful inconsequentiality were mixed with pure poetry. But behind this, and, indeed, a part of it, as a careful study of Novalis alone will show, there was that other Germany, slowly pushing itself forward in science, in politics, and in philosophy, through emphasis on values derived from Kant and Fichte. There was also another Germany — for there have always been several Germanys — the Germany of the bourgeois-grotesque, of the philistinism of beer and pretzels, whose watchwords were '*Ruhe ist des Bürgers erste Pflicht*' ('The citizen's

first duty is quiescence') and '*Gemütlichkeit*,' that untranslatable ideal of peace and comfort so dear to every German soul. This was a point of view which found artistic expression in Schwind, gentle satire in Spitzweg, picaresque mockery in Niebergall's '*Datterich*,' and melancholy, bitter persiflage in Wilhelm Busch.

This bitterness was carried on: Heine, Börne, the failure of 1848, can now be evaluated in the light of the struggle with Austria, and the growth of industry, commercialism, and colonial expansion: it was that Germany of the firm of Godefroy in Samoa, which so aroused Stevenson's wrath, the Germany which made itself respected but not loved, wherever it went. In other lands, this side of Germany was neglected, especially in America, in favor of a fairyland, peopled by supermen who never existed anywhere. What wonder, then, that the Germany of army scandals, of Saverne, of Köpenik, of the historical dramas of Wildenbruch, of the eccentricities of Wedekind, crushed such spirits as had failed to see the growth of Krupp, of Thyssen, who misjudged the tragic significance of the seizure of Kiaochow, and who, when the war broke out, were as unprepared for the shock as if they had been still living with Lessing in Wolfenbüttel, peacefully writing theological polemics on long (if unwisely) forgotten subjects.

So the Germany of the early twentieth century was actually a development of factors long since postulable, but evidently not postulated till war passion

and war propaganda distorted them out of all semblance of their actual 'eikon' and made them a phantasmagoria with which to frighten childish Americans into a fighting mood. Now this old, hard-faceted Germany is gone. That military flash and swagger, that imitation of 'gentlemanliness' which meant mainly following feebly misunderstood sport and an ill-sitting adoption of its terms and mannerisms, even to the monocle, the Germany of orders, decorations, and the trappings of nobility may still smoulder under the surface in a few spirits. But the reverse of the picture is far clearer. Much of the evil brood of that former spirit, pressed down and rumbling in a bitterly discontented proletariat, is now pushing forward, and, while not necessarily controlling Germany's outward destiny before the world, is still snatching at its vitals within. If a victory in the World War might, as some feared, have united Germany into a triumphant, and doubtless blatant, confirmation of a destiny, defeat has torn it apart, has rent its mediæval separatism more than ever into factions, and has enveloped these in a pall of doubt and pessimism.

It was the obvious intention of the Allies at Versailles to crush the German nation; they succeeded in crippling, but not in conquering it. There is a great difference between defeating a nation in battle and starving it into submission, between overwhelming it by force of superior equipment and arms and breaking its spirit. There is no evidence that the

Germans have been finally downed or that their resiliency is destroyed. In fact, their admission to the League of Nations and the renewal of their trade agreements with France, which have been opposed by large groups on both the Right and Left wings, will be the final step in giving back to the Germans their political self-respect, even though there may still be many things in the backgrounds of their minds which have not yet been cleared up. What galled them most, and what still rankles, is the feeling that they alone, of the nations of the world, have been held up as barbarians, as 'Huns,' as moral outcasts among peoples, and that they were excluded, as unworthy, from sitting at the seat of deliberation. They writhe at the thought that the world still, in any measure, regards the war solely as a sign of their depravity, and they often point out how they, all through the struggle, were really showing the marks of civilization when their enemies were the actual barbarians.

Some extremists among the Allies say the fact that the Germans do not recognize their own moral guilt in the matter is a sign that they are moral morons. Such remarks will, of course, gradually grow less in the face of the efforts that the Germans are making at reconstruction and rehabilitation. Their orderly procedure, their grasp of their problems, the general dignity with which they meet the situation, are all bound to give the world a renewed respect for their abilities and qualifications. Their psychology is still that of a defeated people, slowly recovering from shock. Cer-

tain aspects of their point of view impress one as arising from a state of daze, in which people wonder how something happened, or, perhaps, if it really did happen at all; in fact, what happened.

The loss of territory, men, and tangible wealth is surely painful; any nation can understand that. Perhaps, however, it is difficult to understand how the Germans feel about their loss of prestige. It is certainly this that seems to hurt most. There was the fear, openly expressed in some circles and lurkily present in others, that Germany may go the way Spain has gone — into the limbo of second-rate powers; many foresee, without regret, a similar course for France, and certain rather malicious spirits rejoice at each crack in the fabric of the British Empire.

There is no valid reason for supposing that Germany covets in any way the hegemony of Europe. It is obvious to the Germans that, if Europe consists of a congeries of second-rate powers, it will have no more voice in things than has South America, although, as South America and Asia are forging ahead, it is doubly necessary for Europe to maintain its former supremacy, in thought and influence, if not in actual power. For Germany, the way seems to lie, in the opinion of the average person whom one meets, through an economic penetration of Russia and such other countries as naturally turn away from the Anglo-Saxon ideal, and through an intellectual influence on these countries by means, especially, of technology. This

explains the interest in the Near East and in Mexico. If the focus of power shifts to America in the near future and, *via* Russia, to Asia, such shift seems to the Europe-conscious Germans as a domination of mass or of mere wealth over ideas. Their sense of human personal dignity, of personal honor, and perhaps a little envy as well, prevent them from viewing such a shift with equanimity. To many Germans, the great crime both of the war, and especially of the after-war treatment of themselves, lay in the fact that it was a betrayal, not only of themselves, on the basis of the Fourteen Points, but of the idea of Europe, as opposed to any other continent, in that it made way for just such a shift of power as seems now to be taking place.

It is perfectly natural that the aristocrats and the so-called upper classes in Germany should, more than the common people, feel the effects of the war as a national calamity. In any country, the latter are notoriously short-memoried; for them a war, when once over, is swallowed by the daily struggle for existence. Besides this, they are rarely, by education, in so far as they get any, trained to think in terms of national, rather than narrowly local, problems, until, in the last instance, national issues interest them mainly in respect to their influence and effect on their own daily bread and butter. If the average high-tariff American cannot see what havoc his policy makes, both in international political economy and in national finance, how much

less can the common plebs be made to see the realities, the broader significances, of a world war? Any war leaves, of course, a long series of personal bereavements in all classes which neither the sad-eyed peasant nor the wife of the high official can escape. But, besides this grief, there is in Germany, among the educated classes, the definite feeling that they, in a certain sense, are responsible for 'carrying on.' It must be said that education and positions in the State service are far more synonymous than in America, so that it is natural that all educated people in old civilizations like Germany and China should feel something of a responsible pride in government and its functions which in America is left to orators and ward-heelers.

Perhaps it is because the educated take their position within the State, as members of the body politic, so seriously, that some of this larger feeling has been transferred to the man in the street. The transfer of ideas has the disadvantage of driving the man in the street to the extremes of the Right and the Left, but it saves him from the dull level of political mediocrity.

No one who touches German life at all can carry away the impression that the war is treated in Germany with any frivolity or light-mindedness. The aftermath of the war, too, seems to many even more terrible than the war itself, for it was then that the reaction set in, and that the civil population lost its hold on itself. Nor, indeed, can any German be

frivolous about the war when he thinks of the state of Germany's purse. The results of the physical, man-killing war, which is over in Europe, but which is still being fought out on the fringes of the world, are to-day a grim economic fact in Europe. The bills have come in, and the payers look very gravely at the accounting. So that the typical American gibe, when the war is mentioned, 'What war?' finds no echo in Europe. In fact, when one tested the feelings of the Germans, to see if the lighter humors of the situation aroused in them any feeling, the jests fell flat; the war was still too near and too real to be a subject to sport over. The tone of all cartoons is still bitter and cynical, and the wit is political, rather than social.

If one, as an American, happens to live away from his native country for any length of time, so as to be able to view it objectively, one is struck by this difference in attitude, especially on the part of the man in the street. American insularity constitutes a serious menace, not only to America itself, but to all serious solutions of the reconstruction problems of the future. Europe, which is actually daily wrestling with a dead weight of debt and poverty, of discomfort and grief, knows that it is paying for the war, and asks, in the name of humanity, that America should share this burden. As the wealth of Europe seems to flow to America in a wonderful golden stream, it becomes worthless from its very quantity, while each individual in Europe, especially in Germany and England, is taxed to his finger-nails. Such

wealth is a poison; America is the only country of importance to-day which is not, in the minds of the everyday people, envisaging its inner problems as cast on the screen of an international viewpoint. Where the Oriental problem, the Philippine problem, the European debt settlement should be to the fore, it is Prohibition and Fundamentalism, two mediæval left-overs, which split the country. Japan and China, Holland and Belgium, are all broadening their vision by contacts with an idea. It is perhaps the deadly fear of being called 'high-brow' that keeps the American from taking his share in the discussion; the mass of wealth is not merely a shackle to international thinking, it is a very anodyne. '*Sie ersticken in Ihrem Golde,*' say the Germans. ('You are suffocating in your gold.') It is not sufficient to say that we have here the difference between a victorious and a defeated people, for in America there seems not even enough interest in war problems to assimilate them to the psychosis of victory; what is more, in France, which is victorious and which has just carried through a successful campaign of imperialism in North Africa, there is the same atmosphere of tragic breathlessness which one finds in Germany. Italy alone stands apart in a megalomania of self-intoxication. Much might be said of Belgium, which has been forced to accept the abrogation of its extraterritorial rights in China; much might be said of Holland, whose East Indian possessions are in a communistic ferment, and whose relations with Belgium are none too friendly . . . Ger-

many, too, while not directly involved in the imperialistic programme of the world, is the country to which the Allies look to carry the economic burden of their wars, through the working-out of the Dawes Plan. No wonder, then, that the Germans see the world with grave eyes.

It is very difficult to evaluate the attitude of a defeated people. The conqueror certainly finds it difficult, as post-war retaliations in 1865 and in 1918 show. For the great majority of Germans, their conquerors were not the Allies, but the Americans. It was insisted on, over and over again, that in the end they would have got rid of the French and British and that it was the Americans whose superior numbers and seemingly inexhaustible stores turned the tide. It must also be impressed on the American people that, at the present time, the Germans feel that they entered into the peace negotiations only on the basis of the Fourteen Points and that the abandonment of these by the American group still rankles in the German mind as a great and unaccountable betrayal. Whether the present German state of mind on this point is in accordance with the facts of November, 1918, is quite another question. What the world has to deal with is progressive states of mind, year by year. In every given series of treaty revisions, sanctions and agreements, the new state of mind must come under consideration, not what was present in some past decade. Now, therefore, the average American, being fairly magnanimous in his careless

way, never had, even in the occupation days, any of the trappings of conquest. Indeed, in that respect, he left behind, when sober, a good record and pleasant recollections. (Of his reputation when drunk, it is better not to speak.) What is more, the average American has but little of the paraphernalia of victory in his general mental apparatus, and it would therefore surprise most Americans to know with what intense interest America is watched by the present-day Germans. When asked why there was such definite interest in America in Germany, the answer was given, 'As we are going to be the economic slaves of America, it is well for us to know something about our masters.' Few Americans step across the borders of Germany with a self-consciousness equal to that with which they are received. As the war touched so few Americans personally, they can behave as if that event had never happened, but the Germans cannot escape a self-consciousness about it, which, in many instances, must give rise to an inferiority complex. This is primarily true because the Germans have at all times been a personally proud people, who, in the case of the World War, confidently expected to win; besides this, they are, to an almost pathological degree, hypersensitive on questions of personal honor and dignity. The existence of *Ehrengerichte* (courts of honor) proves this. In Germany, a man could be, and perhaps still can be, adjudged to the loss of personal honor for a given period of time. *Ehrenrührig* (derogatory of personal honor) is a word of strong

connotations in German. The Germans have always wished to appear well before the world: they rather resent criticism of themselves, in a degree that is quite foreign to the general Anglo-Saxon informality. And what could be a greater criticism of Germany and the German idea than the results of the war? The torrent of abuse to which the Germans were subjected during the period of the struggle, and which they are now only beginning to learn of in detail, the refusal of the Allies to allow them to sit at the council table, the necessity of accepting a dictated peace, were all hard to bear, but did not, in their entirety, constitute as serious a criticism as the continuance of the war attitude through the Ruhr reprisals and the other post-war incursions of the Allies into the domestic affairs of the nation. Such things rankle far more in the German national consciousness than they would elsewhere.

It is, then, especially hard for a German to adjust himself to a defeatist psychology. But where in Asia the defeatist point of view, due to the continued fear of foreign aggression, of partition, of further indemnities, brings with it a truculence on the part of young China, for example, which is often only a violent reaction from a deep-seated inferiority complex, the German readjustment is entirely different. To the struggle for readjustment are due all the essentials of the present-day state of mind in Germany. The war soon ceased as a military adventure; it became a grim attempt at self-preservation, from which

stage it rapidly assumed the aspects of a national disaster. The final result was a completely new social and economic, to say nothing of a new political, situation.

People in stable and established countries make light of such crises in other lands. Those, however, who happen to live in countries where evolution takes the form, if not the substance, of revolution, where each day's *bouleversement* is an almost complete turn of the wheel of fate, as well as of 'the wheel of the law,' grow to realize, more than the stay-at-homes, what 'history in the making' does to the mass of people, that is, to the individuals as such. One is accustomed to speak glibly of nations bearing the burden of national debt, of reparations and indemnities, but such generalizing has a place only in strictly scientific treatises, where the economist or sociologist may discuss the matter independently of the personal equation involved. In the final instance, however, it is each individual who pays for the war or the indemnity out of his petty purse; nations are not entities in this, any more than they are abstractions. It is the Chinese peasant, the Japanese farmer, the German bourgeois, who actually finance the wars, the benefits of which rarely redound to their good. The idea of the 'State' may rest on perfectly sound philosophical assumptions in political science, but it has little basis in the experiences of everyday life, as lived with people, day by day, in sympathy and understanding or in working for a living. The cry,

‘Germany thinks this or that,’ or ‘Germany can pay,’ is extremely dangerous for Germany, for it overlooks the individual factors in attempts to add up gross sums, which, in the end, must arise from such individual factors. No whole can be greater than the sum of its parts.

The mood in Germany, as far as one can gather from selected individuals, is one of rankling injustice in regard to the post-war period. What the Germans want is a return to fellowship; they want some share of the world’s sympathy, now that it is clear that they were not the sole cause of the war, that many of the so-called ‘atrocities,’ such as the corpse-factory, were pure fabrications, and that there were manifest injustices such as the Ruhr invasion or petty tyrannies, such as the deportation from China, in 1919, of all the Germans living there. German pride has been humbled; for the mass of people the lesson has been complete. They are ready for a new alignment based on sympathy and the desire to readjust honestly. This is the meaning of the joy with which Stresemann was greeted when he returned from Paris, having made new contacts with France; the Rhine was finally to be evacuated, even at the expense of great concessions. ‘Let us,’ say the people, ‘have no more of the signs and evidences of hate and oppression, and we will try to do our share.’

People constantly ask what Germany thinks of the war; there is no ‘Germany’ in this sense. No *statistics* can be gathered to show anything about any one’s

feelings. The underlying grief at the loss of loved ones, a grief that never obtrudes on the visitor, but is wonderful in its dignity, must impress even an unsympathetic observer. One woman's glance will steal, with a look of settled pain, to a photograph on a desk; a learned colleague changes color at the mention of a town in France. No one asks, 'How many children have you?' — the question which one is so accustomed to ask, as a mere matter of politeness, in China. This is the common human element, not sentimentalized into 'gold star mothers,' but merely taken for granted as part of Germany's sacrifice. It is practically the only common ground, however, where all meet in equal fellowship. In this connection, it seems significant that the Kaiser, who consciously separated himself from his people at the time of the Revolution, had before that already lost his chance to share their grief with them, since he had preserved all his sons through the war. In some circles there was strong feeling on the subject; in others, it was glossed over.

If one talks with individuals, one finds just as wide a range of opinion about the war as on any other controversial subject. There is an almost equally wide range of opinion on any *phase* of the war, from the actual conduct of the military operations to the state of the commissariat at the end. For some, the German military machine is still the perfect organization, crushed by overwhelming numbers. For others, the German army was a broken reed, the general staff

a set of dunderheads, and the conduct of the war, from a military point of view, asinine. No one stratum, even, thinks the same; one cannot get the real point of view from any set of newspapers, for no one editorial writer speaks for his entire constituency. Certainly, it is no longer possible for any one person to think for the nation.

If the ideas as to the war, as to war guilt, and as to the questions concerning the peace are at variance, as befits a nation of individualistic thinkers like the Germans, there is, curiously enough, one phase on which there is more nearly a general agreement than on any other. That is, on the failure of German diplomacy, both before and during the war. It is also admitted that the Germans did not know how to evaluate Anglo-Saxon psychology, and that their propaganda was feeble, inefficient, and, indeed, stupid. That it was entirely in the wrong hands is also admitted. These admissions are really great concessions; they show the Germans taking stock of themselves as never before. Earnest self-examination, with admission of intellectual faults, and of mistakes in policy, leads to reforms and changes. It is not possible to expect people to admit that their *feelings* were wrong — this is not possible in the Southern States of today; but when they admit, in any degree, that they went off the track, it is worth noting as a hopeful sign. Another point on which there is general unanimity is in the execration of Italy's conduct during, and of course, since, the war. Even those who

admit that Italy, dependent on England and France for raw materials and coal, had little choice of policy, feel that the betrayal of Germany for these reasons constitutes the blackest spot in Italy's career. Finally, there is a third point of agreement. No one in Germany really thinks that the Germans were defeated by military prowess or mere valor, but by weight of numbers plus hunger. There is no feeling of actually having come to grips with the American troops; but their numbers and their supplies made a great impression. One officer told me that at the end the German sallies were all directed to the canned goods of the enemy, especially when the Germans were opposite the American lines. It became a fight, he said, to get food, a common grab like that of the most primitive savage. His statement represents a point of view, at least.

Another usual question is, 'Are the Germans still militarist?' Some certainly are. There are those who would, according to their own statements, be willing to go through with all the sufferings and privations if they could conquer France. There are those who argue for a return of the old system on all sorts of moral, hygienic, social, and ethical grounds. But when it comes to militarism, there seems to be less active propaganda for it than in America; certainly it is less active, both as a force and as an ideal or goal, than in China. I suppose that there is a militarist party even in Switzerland. The Germans, by and large, do not want a return to the old system, how-

ever elegiacally some may sigh for it. I think they sometimes sigh for a strong man to lead them; in all defeated nations the messianic idea looms large; it did among the Hebrews; the Chinese are constantly greeting each successive military leader as a coming Napoleon, and it is quite in line with human thinking that there should be some such romantic longing on the part of the Germans for a modern, less iron-fisted Bismarck, to lead them through the tangles of present-day international diplomacy. There are, however, enough Germans who know what poor sticks the political Messiahs all are; they are not willing to try it with the yeoman diplomats at present at their disposal. They point to France, the greatest military power in Europe, both historically and contemporaneously, and hope that this militarism may be France's economic undoing. Yet even with regard to France, there is a cessation of the feeling of anger. Some say that at the end of the war there was no feeling directed against France, all being anti-British; that the Ruhr occupation, and the black troops on the Rhine, with the other indignities suffered, directed the feeling against France. But actually, there is in all Germans a great and secret admiration for the French spirit: it has come out in every generation, in the literary and theatrical movements, and Paris is a goal for every German's travels. So that, when all is said and done, the Germans actually welcome any *rapprochement* with France. They know how much they have been able to draw from France,

not merely in goods and economic advantage, but in emotional urge.

The same general lack of unanimity characterizes the feeling toward the monarchy. Certain sections are strongly monarchist; so, for example, Bavaria. The rumors of plots in which reactionary Hungary, Fascist Italy, Rumania, and Bavaria are said to be planning a restoration occur constantly and have gotten into the daily press. The old official class is also monarchist in tone; they have lost their bread and butter, their high standing, and with them it is often a mere wish to return to lost personal privileges, rather than any feeling of deep principle. There are those among them, and among other groups, who honestly feel that the monarchist form is the best for Germany, if not for the world. All these have a right to their opinion and express it freely. There is no doubt, too, that there will be some plotting for the restoration of a monarchy or even of *the* monarchy. Some will always want the Hohenzollerns to return, some *may* even want the thoroughly discredited Kaiser. Such earnest groups of monarchists, or adherents to a past dynasty, are found in every country. France has its Bonapartists and its Bourbons. It is even rumored that the present Jacobite King of England gives an annual dinner on his birthday, in Boston, Massachusetts. There is also supposed to be a party which wishes to restore the Ming emperors, to say nothing of the Manchus! It will be generations before the feeling for the Hohenzollerns

dies out entirely. People mistake the national feeling of respect which the Germans show for the past achievements of the House of Hohenzollern in the deeds of Frederick the Great, say, for a desire to restore the ex-Kaiser. The newspaper talk of restoration is propaganda of one sort or another. I was in Berlin in May, 1926, when one 'plot' was discovered, and an intimate acquaintance of mine was among the suspects. The whole incident was so obviously manufactured, the evidence so flimsy, and the actions of the police so silly, that I was astounded when I read the accounts of the affair which got into the foreign press.

Even if the Germans were desirous of the restoration of the monarchy, they would hesitate, on account of the international implications. They now know how the House of Hohenzollern is regarded by the world at large, and they know that to restore it, or any other monarchical form, would be interpreted by the other nations as a throw-back and would lead to a further strengthening of the ring around the country. Also, there is much less likelihood of monarchist plots being launched, now that Germany has been admitted to the League.

It has been alleged that the desire to return to the dethroned princes their family possessions is a sign of monarchist feeling. In the group which voted to give back this property, there is no doubt a fraction which desired to pay homage to their former rulers; the vast majority of Germans is actuated, I am absolutely convinced, only by a desire to do justice

to the former ruling classes, to see that they are not treated in a vengeful spirit, and to show the world that private property is safe in Germany, as it was not, say the Germans with complete truth, in the United States during the war. It is because of this attitude toward private property that the Communist groups oppose the settlement. To them, it savors of rank capitalism to suggest this angle of approach to a solution. The question was passionately discussed during the spring of 1926 and the plebiscite on June 20, 1926, eagerly looked forward to. The process of mediatization had at once taken place, practically automatically, at the time of the Revolution; it now remained to be seen just how far it was proper to go, what readjustments were to be made, and how much was really due the various individuals. At first glance, it seemed as if the motto were to be *tabula rasa*, but such drastic action was really not wanted by the Germans, to whose mentality it ran distinctly counter. Besides this, some of the states, such as Coburg, had already made an agreement with the Duke, who, being actually an Englishman, had set his demands high, and had squeezed out every penny he could, to the great disgust of everybody. The Socialists took the extreme point of view. Their papers were bitter in editorial and cartoon on the rapacity, greed, and shamelessness of the aristocrats. Processions bearing placards with slogans, 'Millions for the Princes and nothing for the starving workmen,' were common; jokes in which the private life

and morals of the former rulers were held up to mockery occasionally passed the bounds of good taste. There were all sorts of variants on the theme that the money would go to the hangers-on of the princelings. One type of joke ran about like this: 'Why do you look so prosperous? Have you found work?' 'No, but I have just married the former mistress of an ex-prince.'

Those who wished to return the property to the rulers, on the ground that private property should be sacred, asserted that much of the property in question was absolutely private in character. Besides this, there was a definite feeling of gratitude on the part of many for what these persons or their ancestors had done for Germany. Some felt that only those portions which were distinctly public property, such as galleries and museums, should be withheld by the State. Of course, the difficulties of making such a distinction were clearly recognized, but it was held that the separation must be made, in order to be absolutely just. There were also certain arguments from expediency. That is, some writers assured the public that what had already been taken was so much that the State had got the cream of the whole property, and that, all in all, the State had made a good bargain and could afford to be generous in the final accounting.

The obvious argument that all the property acquired by rulers is obtained by them through their position as heads of states and because of their

favorable position, even if there be no dishonesty in the acquisition, seemed never to occur to the Germans. There is a loyalty to the idea of kingship, a respect for those in high station, that makes it difficult for them to realize that they have very often been taken advantage of by those whom they have so highly respected. Another point, which was not stressed as it ought to have been, was that in Germany's present financial condition, she was not in a position to afford the luxury of paying out all this money; if she intended to plead poverty to her creditors, she could not indulge in a spree of generosity to her former rulers. This was pointed out in France, but found little echo in the German press.

The world has probably lost all fear that Germany will 'go Bolshevik.' There is, of course, a strong Communist Party in Germany; this party is allied in sympathy, and presumably by sincere personal ties, to the purse-strings of the Russian Communist group. The latter spends freely in China, it assists the English miners in their strike, and there is no reason to suppose that it withholds its hand in Germany. As Germany does not suppress public utterance of political ideas, the Communist parades leave no doubt where the sympathies of the party lie. They sing their songs, exhibit their banners, unmolested and unclubbed by the police. Their premises are not raided, and they are not put in jail. It is quite apparent that the sensible German point of view, held even by those who hate the Communists, is to let them 'blow off

steam' in public where their activities can be seen and judged by the people at large. Communist parades can be witnessed at any time; the songs sung are highly derogatory to the parties and persons in power, and if an American parade had said the things about Coolidge which were openly sung in the streets about Hindenburg, there would have been arrests and jail sentences in plenty.

There was an unreasoning fear of the Communists on the part of the conservative groups. People who had faced the enemy in battle were solemn in their assurances that it would be dangerous to go out on the streets on May 1, the International Labor Day, when, in Berlin, there were to be several hundred thousand Communists afoot. These tremors were completely groundless; in the Moabit section there was a little scrapping, but such is entirely in order when young people wander about with too much alcohol in them. There was not one real disturbance either in Berlin or in Leipzig during the special Communist gatherings that we witnessed. It was also constantly averred that the Communists were solely criminal in type. 'Haben Sie je solche Verbrechergesichter gesehen?' ('Have you ever seen such criminal faces?') The fact is, that the Communist parades looked extremely like the average *petit bourgeois*; there was a preponderance of young people among them; as, indeed, the Communist idea takes hold of the young in all countries where it has gained a footing. An interesting commentary on the political ideals of the party

was its stand on Locarno. It opposed the pact as bitterly as did the extreme Right groups, such as the 'Stahlhelm' (the steel helmet), an equivalent of the American Legion. This seems to show that, at heart, each extreme group has about the same general political vision and is actuated by somewhat the same motives, but that, in the end, the large group occupying the middle ground will really control both internal and external policy.

The bitter hatred of the reactionary groups for Communism often passes the bounds of common sense. On the other hand, every time a so-called monarchist plot is 'discovered,' or some extreme Right group is curtailed in its activities, whether justly or not, the cries of anger arise. But the real marvel is that one citizen of any country can talk as bitterly of a fellow citizen as the Germans talk against each other. Caustic criticism is a far more common characteristic of the Germans, whether in a book review or a political article, than with us. One learns, too, to discount some, though not all, of this feeling. The injection of politics into the ranks of the student body, a phenomenon entirely unknown in America, though found in practically every other country in the world, brings disharmony into academic circles which is far bitterer, in some respects, than the sophomorisms of the American college student in his inter-class or inter-fraternity struggles. Such disharmony holds the country back, and prevents the nation from joining hands in one effort to-

ward rehabilitation. But it also shows that the danger from complete Monarchism or complete thorough-going Communism is equally remote. Whether it is true that such a buffer state as Poland holds off Communism from Germany, as was generally held in pacifist circles, is open to some question.

The most unpleasant aspect of Communism or, rather, of the activities of the communistic propaganda in Germany, is the effect on the foreign students studying there. We happened to be present at the anniversary celebration held in Berlin in honor of the nine Chinese who were shot on May 30, 1925, by the police in the International Settlement in Shanghai. The celebration should have been, on all counts, a dignified memorial service, in which the Chinese stated their position, mourned their loss, and had done with it. Instead of this, it became increasingly evident during the course of the proceedings, that the Chinese students' club, quite unwittingly, and I feel from my own knowledge of Chinese character, quite unwillingly, was being used as a cat's-paw by a rabidly communistic element. The speakers up to midnight, when it seemed time for me to leave, were a Brazilian, a Pole, an English woman Laborite, a German-American, a very inarticulate Japanese, a very violent Persian, and a further heterogeneous group of Greeks, Germans, and strange persons of nondescript nationality. Only one Chinese spoke; the other speakers, with the exception of one sane and scholarly German, spent the evening in making in-

accurate statements about the situation in China, and in attacking imperialism, mostly British. I can hardly believe that the Chinese were flattered by the attention, but, as they had let themselves in for it, they had to carry it through, as they have done on other occasions when they have been caught in the whirlwind of ignorant propaganda. On these other foreign elements, as well as on the Chinese, all of whom go back to their native countries with the very half-baked ideas they have gained, this whole propaganda has a very bad effect. The notions of international relations expressed in the speeches and the indifference to real provable facts must work intellectual if not political havoc on immature minds. These students probably do very little studying; they become truculent, politically-nationalistically class-conscious, and some of them cause the university authorities a good deal of trouble. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the only newspapers with clear, full, and informed articles, as well as news about Oriental conditions, are the Red-Wing papers.

The Communist experiment after the war was a failure; all feel that the people then in power were men without experience or flair for government, and that it was due to their ineptitude that Germany was brought to her present pass. The great middle-class group of Germans distrusts further experimentation with the government or with economic theories, and wishes only a chance to recoup. The face that is

turned to the outside world, they say, must be no Janus face, looking toward Monarchy with one side and to Communism with the other. The real Germany, which is desirous of seeing eye to eye with the rest of the world, must be honest in its shouldering of the allotted share of the task of reconstruction.

The idea is gradually dying out that Germany must be made to admit, as well as to feel, war guilt. There will always be some irreconcilables who will insist that this question is the important one to settle, and who will accept none of the 'revisionist' data, no matter how authentic. So, on the other hand, there will always be in Germany some who will hold that Germany was the sole innocent lamb, slaughtered by wicked wolves. In general, it may be said of the Germans that most of them, for whatever reason, are entirely *unconscious* of any feeling that there is any particular guilt attached to them, either as a nation or as individuals, in relation to the origin of the war. Nor have they any consciousness of guilt in regard to the 'atrocities'; the stay-at-homes asked with pained surprise if any one *could* believe that their kind fathers, brothers, sons, and so on could possibly have done the things imputed to them. There is little objectivity on the part of these good people. Those who were actually at the front, on all sides, saw a different picture, and, in the main, it is those who actually fought who want no more of war under any circumstances. This seems to be true the world

over. The German ex-soldiers, too, have no different feeling from those of their former enemies. They did their duty, as they were told to do it, and as others did theirs; the war is over, and should, as far as possible, be regarded as a closed chapter. Those persons who still expect to find a great revulsion of feeling in Germany are sure to be disappointed. The Germans have broken with their past more than almost any other nation; they expect to reap the reward of this, and for the present are too busy building up the economic structure of their land to worry further about theoretical questions, the balancing of which is a matter for future historians. The mood is not recalcitrance, but a determination not to be overwhelmed by the effects of abusive and unscientific propaganda. The objectivity of many of the professors, lecturing on contemporary history, is notable. I spoke to one of them about it. His only reply was, 'One must be scientific.'

The direct moods of the individual psychology in present-day Germany are still highly reminiscent in character. Any average person who does not live day by day lives in a past which is either glorious or bitter, as his political views, his losses in person, position, or wealth, determine. The young people of the country try to look forward into something better than the Germany which is going on about them; the older ones wonder fully as much at the fate which has befallen them as about the way in which it is all to turn out.

The factors that keep this complex of ideas and feelings fluid are the housing problem and its difficulties, the memories of the inflation and of the post-war reprisals, and the visible effect of the reparations on the financial side of people's daily lives, in taxes and other imposts. Of these, the inflation is a memory of horror, the housing problem still a vital one, and the tax-burden a Sisyphus task which, in the main, the average man feels to be far too great for the nation to bear. The tax problem has had both its immediate and its indirect effect on business, and, through its depressing and hampering effect in this sphere, has had a reaction on the social life, the *Geselligkeit*, of the people at large. If there are other vital changes in trend than those which have affected the world as a whole, and not Germany in particular, through the enlargement of horizon, it is too early to speak.

Home life is everywhere based primarily on certain physical externalities. The spiritual values which arise out of the home environment rest peculiarly on factors of comfort, of light, of heat, and on the other material matters which are included in the modern complex called the home. Before decentralizing elements can enter in, the physical bases of such decentralization must be present to allow centrifugal action to result. Any American can find abundant examples of what is meant by disintegration in the immigrant home under slum conditions, where a moral nexus is impossible because the physical bases

are not maintainable. It is, therefore, all the more astonishing, and at the same time highly encouraging, to find that in Germany, in spite of war conditions and post-war difficulties which enhance the seriousness of the whole problem, the decentralization and disintegration of the home have not taken place. But where such process may be said to be in progress, in any stratum, it shows no signs of an acceleration, due to the abnormal conditions under which the Germans are compelled to maintain their home life. In fact, when we compare America, or even China, with Germany, we see that social change is going on at a far more rapid rate. In both China and America, the changed spiritual values have already begun to take on the form of definitely accepted *mores* in a way that is still quite foreign to German conditions. There is in this, as in many other matters connected with the 'ethical core' of their national life, a sound common-sense in the German people which makes for recognition of values once obtained; having attained such values through ages of economic and social evolution, the German instinct seems to be to hold to them at any cost. The Chinese have obtained the same type of stability through an even more severe economic attrition, but there are, at present, potent outside influences which shake even their age-long adherence to custom. It seems that France also, which has a far more reactionary type of conservatism in regard to the family than has Germany, may undergo more sweeping changes in the

next few generations through the influx of black blood from its African citizenry.

It is obvious that there are ample factors of evolution in contemporary Germany; these factors are far more immediately economic than ever before in the history of the German people, not excepting the period of the catastrophe of the Thirty Years' War or that following the defeats at the hands of Napoleon. In spite of their gravity, their catastrophic effect at the present time is far less than might be supposed, especially in the sphere of the home and the family. The even current of orderly life in Germany runs surprisingly deep and true to old channels, still following long established folk-ways.

The most important factor in the home question is, of course, the really devastating house shortage. In the city of Leipzig there was, as far as I could discover by careful though not exhaustive inquiry, not one apartment house built in the winter of 1925-26. Walks through the outlying districts failed to reveal any building in progress, except a few villas and two-family houses. The situation did not seem different in any other large city that I visited. Leipzig is a city of close on seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and the merely normal increase of houses, due to needs arising from births, from deterioration of old material, from the incorporation of new ideas in house-building, would amount, in any one year, to a very definite and appreciable figure. But nothing was being done to assist in the alleviation of this crisis.

Where, in any given city, one hundred per cent of the houses are occupied, there is not only no margin of mobility possible to the people, but no allowance can be made for taste, for personal preference, in a word, for all the imponderables which go to make a dwelling-place desirable or undesirable for the individual. The German population is tied to its houses with leaden chains; such restriction hampers the æsthetic outlook, causes a thankful satisfaction with anything that has a roof, but it prevents progress in domestic comfort, hygiene, and sanitation. Take Leipzig as an example: Leipzig's problem is made more acute by the large number of buildings reserved for the purposes of the 'Messe,' the industrial fairs which have been going on for hundreds of years, and which have become so large a part of the Leipzig tradition that the entire civic attention is concentrated on a successful fair season. No wonder, then, that buildings which stand idle for all but three to four days, twice a year, are held to be sacrosanct 'for fair purposes.' Any attempt to divert them to greater uses is looked on as unpatriotic and though the technical fair now has its own grounds outside the immediate city, there are many so-called 'Mess-paläste' in the heart of the business and residence districts which stand idle throughout the greater part of the year. These buildings are a severe economic drain, and an equally severe strain on the patience of that part of the populace which is not immediately dependent on the fairs for sustenance. But acute as the problem is in

Leipzig, it is fully as serious in other parts of the country. One would imagine that in the smaller cities, of the semi-rural type, the situation would be better; in Weimar and Eisenach, in Regensburg and Münster, the house shortage was fully as bad as in the larger and more metropolitan places. In fact, the alarming drift from the country is not only to the great centers of population, but to the smaller, less industrialized cities as well. Of course, small industrial cities like Zwickau have a very acute housing problem, though the rich industrialists of the Saxon region in which Zwickau lies are able to build very fine private villas for themselves as long as they can profit through their export trade.

It is often quite possible to find houses in the country districts; yet tourist cities like Rothenburg on the Tauber, which have only a most limited industrial life, were said to have absolutely not one vacant house; this means that the small city center of a rural district is in no way better off than a vast industrial organism like Berlin. In fact, in most of the larger cities there is a definite amelioration, since the larger the city, the surer it is to be well provided with *pensions* which accommodate more natives than tourists during the present eclipse of Germany as a tourist center. In Leipzig the fair visitors are hotel transients. But, even with the housing shortage what it is, the average *pension* in Germany is not full. The lack of cash and the general high price of living make it impossible for the Germans to use the *pensions*

instead of homes. Of course, many do live in *pensions*; we were told in Berlin by any number of our acquaintances that they never expected to try to keep house again, but these friends were people with less family ties than the average, and there seems to be no special social significance in the remark. The *pensions* do not and cannot solve the German housing shortage.

The shortage has brought with it an extremely irksome system of quartering strangers by police regulation. This quartering seems to be done without fear, and generally without favor, though occasionally the eye of the law winks at the proper moment. So, for instance, the university professors did not seem to suffer a great deal. Families with marriageable children have been able to arrange to have them and not strangers in the house, though in many instances the police have stepped in and substituted some one else for the young couple, who have subsequently been obliged to accommodate themselves under the parental roof, less the rooms they had hoped to retain for themselves. At other times, the police have put out the young couple, even after the parents had carefully made themselves owners of the house, in order to avoid just this contingency. The augmentation of young husband and wife and the inevitable progeny has not added to the comfort of the family, nor was any such arrangement 'contemplated in the bond' of matrimony. Each family is allowed so many square feet *per capita*, and must be content with

that; former trunk-rooms come into use as bedrooms, attics are utilized, bathrooms are turned into kitchens, and all the unpleasant makeshifts of crowding families of heterogeneous elements and of widely different standards of living, taste, and cleanliness were resorted to.

The situation falls very heavily on the universities. No professor dares to accept a call unless he be assured of living quarters at his new post. If a professor dies, his family still has the right to the old quarters, less, perhaps, one room. This is, naturally, no provision for his successor, and leaves the problem of housing the new man completely unsolved. The police, or the *Wohnungsamt*,¹ which had charge of all dwelling questions was not compelled to provide living quarters; its duty seems to have been to see that no one had too much room, and that no one who was not on the list got rooms, or that, once on a list, he remained in his proper place on it — with such personal changes as the members of the *Amt* were able to make for their friends or under proper financial tutelage. This very limited function of the *Wohnungsamt* put the matter of housing new professors squarely up to the universities. There were various possibilities. The professor could come and live in a *pension*. Not pleasant, but possible. If the call were to Berlin, which is the end-station for many in their striving for an academic career, living *en pension*

¹ The *Wohnungsamt* had been eliminated in Bavaria, alone of the States, in 1926.

could be carried on with more security, for one had all one's life in which to get settled, and no one hurries the new professor into his academic duties. He will never find himself on the committee to welcome new students! If *pension* living is unsatisfactory, the university may be able to find space in the barracks which have been built to accommodate professors; it may, with the assistance of the *Wohnungssamt*, find something in the city; it may — and this was done by Leipzig at severe financial sacrifice — buy up apartments for its increasing staff. Where nothing can be done, the call falls through; this happens far more often than is good for an educational system, one great advantage of which is the mobility among its scholars.

In order to obviate the difficulty of arranging for houses, the system of chain exchanges has come into vogue. This applies not only to professors, but to any one who wants to move. There are, moreover, regular agents who make a business of arranging such chains; other persons advertise single links. The scheme works about like this: A wishes to go from Leipzig to Kiel, but knows no one in Kiel who wishes to go to Leipzig, on terms suitable to himself, or in any other way. But there is a man who wishes to go from Kiel to Hamburg; then some one is found who wishes to go from Hamburg, say, to Hannover, one from Hannover to Halle, and then one from Halle to Leipzig, thus completing the chain and making it possible for the Leipzig man to get his house in Kiel *via* the ex-

changes with persons from other cities. One hears conversations like this: 'Have you arranged your house in Kiel?' 'Oh, no, but I have an exchange between Hannover and Halle and am now looking for the rest of the links.' Or, 'Congratulate me! I have just got an exchange Zwickau to Darmstadt, which completes my chain Augsburg to Potsdam!' All this takes infinite time and trouble, but makes the resulting home all the more precious. It must be added here that each person in the chain must be *wohnungsberechtigt*; that is, must have a right, on the proper official list, to a dwelling in the city in which he is negotiating his exchange. If not, the *Amt* may step in at the last moment and cancel the whole matter just as it appears to be settled. It has been said that the Germans are slaves to discipline and authority, but they certainly resent the interference of the officials in the matter of dwellings, and the Bavarians are constantly congratulating themselves that in their state the matter of getting houses is once more left to personal initiative.

The Rector of the University of Leipzig complained that the larger part of his time was taken up with matters relating to housing; this burden, not contemplated in the scheme of things when the university administration was started, added so much to his difficulties that questions of a larger nature had to be neglected in favor of the simple matter of putting roofs over the heads of his faculty. One bachelor professor earned the deep gratitude of the university

community by bequeathing his villa to it; this housed the leading Germanist, whose acceptance of the call to Leipzig had depended on the assurance of having a suitable house. The university also bought houses where it could, though this was difficult, both from the point of view of the finances of a very meagerly endowed institution, working in a highly socialized government which suspected it of reactionary principles, and because houses were simply not to be had at any price. It was not that the actual cash value was so out of proportion; there just were none. Finally, in spite of all strikes and other troubles, the university built some dwellings out near the Völkerschlachtdenkmal, but these were merely jerry-built affairs, small and crowded, rather mean in appearance, and especially inappropriate for the really fine large pieces of old furniture which so many of the professors are still fortunate enough to own. To see these heirlooms, beautiful early pieces and big splendid examples of cabinet-making, crowded into low and stuffy rooms with grand pianos and shelves of books, produced a sense of incongruity and was an injustice to those who had to endure it. Many were compelled to store their furniture. The University of Berlin also had some houses built; they seemed better than those in Leipzig. But they were constructed at the height of the Socialist reaction against the University, with the result that the Government attempted to depress the comfort-level and standards of the professors' houses to those of the average workingman.

No provision was made for library or study, balconies were tabu as effete luxuries, and it was only with difficulty that baths and central heating were got in at last. In fact, I am not sure but that these things were obtained only after the extreme Socialist régime was ousted. There was a good deal of amusement and some bitterness over the whole thing, as I remember it, and it did nothing to strengthen the feeling of political liberalism in university circles. To be sure, these flats, when finished, were no worse than the boxes one gets accustomed to in New York, but they seemed to be a sore trial to the Hausfrau whose fine heirlooms filled the stuffy little rooms to the point of discomfort, or had to be stored in an attic.

The lists of eligibles to houses were said to be interminably long; the talk of official corruption in the matter was quite free, so that it is entirely probable that the lists were none too honestly administered. On the other hand, there is always a good deal of loose talk accompanying all frictional relations between a harassed bureaucracy and an irritated citizenry, and the housing situation was so acute that it could not progress without trouble. If one's general experience with petty officials may be taken as a guide, they did not have their hands out nearly as much as one had been led to expect. In cases like this, however, where there was some definite advantage to be sought, they may have been as venal as the car conductors and men of that stripe were invariably found to be. One of my acquaintances in the uni-

versity complained very bitterly that he was constantly kept back while others who had just got married were mysteriously shoved up the list. Another, a laboratory assistant on a meager salary, was compelled to live with his parents-in-law, explaining the while that his right to a dwelling would only appear when he had three children, and that, in the crowded condition of his father-in-law's apartment, there was not room for even one child. But with the really mild philosophy of the Germans, the whole acutely uncomfortable situation did not seem nearly so tragic as it would to a group of Americans, and the spirit of rebellion was not at all as manifest as it would have been in the United States. The jokes on the situation in the comic papers were not caustic; there were some that were rather vulgar, where the crowding gave a chance for some dubious remarks, but the picture which had the greatest vogue in the windows of the art shops was that of a disconsolate young couple, wandering through the country, and looking up at a bird's nest. The caption was, 'Well, they have a home, anyway!' There was a whimsicality in the joke that was rather appealing.

There was bound to be some injustice in the quartering. The officials were really lenient with the professors, recognizing their need for library space and for quiet to work in, though many professorial families felt it necessary to take in a roomer in order to avoid further quartering. In the case of business people of my acquaintance, there were various ways

of reckoning space so that rooms were counted as foyers if their doors were arranged in certain ways, and there were other minor forms of chicane which were made to work either way, for or against the house-owner. One very old Leipzig family had to put up with a most unpleasant house-mate; another took in a janitor in order to keep out a person who was to be put in by the police. In one case, the family had been let alone (they belonged to a most respected and old family of the city), but were in constant danger of denunciation. The police were lenient with them because the house had been occupied by the family for many generations, and the furniture had become almost a part of the house itself; the rooms, too, were quite ill-adapted to the needs of several families, being in some cases veritably palatial in dimension. But should a *Denunziant*, out of sheer ill-will, come to the police, some action would be taken. The secret denouncing of one's enemies was still a minor indoor sport, undertaken, at times, out of envy and ill-nature, or perhaps impelled by personal need.

The householder who had some one quartered on him had no recourse in increased rentals. The rents were kept at a very low post-war level, about eighty-five per cent of the pre-war prices; of this eighty-five per cent, a goodly proportion, in some cases as high as sixty per cent, was taken in taxes by the State, so that there was no profit in it for the man who owned a rentable house or who had people quartered in his

own house. The rentals were raised to pre-war levels in 1926.

One of my friends was able to get a very good villa, on condition that he quarter a family in the third story. This went very well until the family became impecunious and refused to pay rent. There was nothing to be done about it except by legal process, which was troublesome and expensive; meanwhile, the third story enjoyed rent free and, as the house had central heat, were getting their heat thrown in. This was an added bonanza for them, as most houses of the older type do not have central heat, and they showed no disposition to vacate. This is a minor incident, but it serves to show how the tenant is protected from the landlord to a point of injustice to the latter.

Some Germans to whom I spoke expressed the idea that there was one element in the overcrowding which might not be entirely detrimental. This is, that at a time of great economic stress, when Germany's overcrowding bore most heavily on her resources, it might be a slight check on overpopulation. Their theory was that any check on population was desirable at the present time.

The intensity of current overcrowding in Germany is due, of course, to well-recognized post-war conditions. In the first place, Germany has a small terrain, and the German race is prolific. This terrain has been made smaller and the boundaries contracted by the compact of the Allies at Versailles. Many Germans

were driven out of the expropriated districts, either by choice or military force, and have never been able to return. They prefer to remain part of the Reich, since their property has long ago been confiscated in the home sections. There was also a large exodus into other parts of Germany from the occupied Ruhr districts; this occupation is now over, but a residue of families still remains. The influx from Poland, Alsace, and the Ruhr is definite and appreciable in size. It is a factor in the overcrowding. A second factor, also partly of a temporary nature, but with an element of permanence, is the tidal wave of foreigners which swept over the country at the time of the inflation. There were, it is estimated, at one time in Berlin alone, five hundred thousand Russians. The mass of these has scattered with the rise of the mark to a normal level, but there are still several tens of thousands in Berlin, and other cities also still have the same type of foreigner; the Russian expatriate has become a permanent fixture in German economic life.

In normal times it would be perfectly easy to take up this slack. But since the war, as well as during it, the building programme ceased entirely. The usual causes come into play: lack of materials, strikes, high wages, the socialistic legislation mentioned above, which puts the whole burden on the landlord, and, finally, lack of capital and the prevailing high rates of interest. Interest on real estate investments from rents was very low; no one was willing to put any

money into dwellings. On the other hand, mortgage rates ran as high as fifteen per cent. Several people, in the naïve supposition that every American has plenty of money to invest, offered me gilt-edged mortgages at very good rates. The offer was more flattering than practicable. The building trades were completely paralyzed, except for office buildings, a few public buildings, and for repair work. Villas were being remodeled into two- and three-family houses, but in no city were there signs of such active building development, carried on with such resourcefulness and with such feeling for artistic civic unity, as were noticeable, for example, in Amsterdam and The Hague.

It is obvious that most Germans are not living in houses which meet modern demands. It must be remembered that in many ways German domestic architecture was on a very high plane before the war, if we take into consideration certain facts of German taste and certain economic principles, as well as certain domestic practices. The better homes in Germany were all far less conventional than those in America; the 'villas,' as the Germans call suburban or detached houses, were far less rectangularly box-like, and there was always a recognition, in the building plan of the house, of the fact that servants are available. Economic conditions have made it impossible to fulfill the architectural promise of the pre-war period.

In the final analysis, the main effect of all the post-

war conditions on German social life has been to retard the development of the graces of living. To the American, accustomed to the more flexible modes of the West, there has always seemed to be a certain lack of these graces; stiffness, solidity, general inconvenience, characterize the average run of German domesticity, surprisingly tempered everywhere by love of music, and, in the better homes, by an intimate family life centering in the home and focussing on it as an earnest of intangible values for which there can be no real substitute. To be sure, the lack of housing breaks into this ideal, but, in so far as the Germans are able to maintain it, it stands as a substantial fact, resisting disintegrating forces from every direction. The home life is national and is bounded by definite restrictions, but it persists.

Its failure to develop the graces of living is seen in the strict limitations of the cuisine, whose lack of imagination is its severest condemnation. The eternal sameness of German food can only be excused by the fact that the Germans suffered hunger so long that they are glad to get something to eat, no matter what it is. If a nation insists on a national diet, as Germany does, on a diet definitely suited to the climate and the tastes of the people, no one has any right to complain. Certainly the American, whose food is more varied even than are the races who go to make up his nation, may not throw stones; only, somehow or other, there is a psychology of eating, and national foods seem to index national civilizations. The

gamut runs from the lowest savagery, with its nauseous messes, through gluttonies of mediæval Europe, to the perfection of the international cooking of the present day, or to the strictly national but highly indicative cuisine of cultured China. One may take this latter as typical of a nation which has spent long centuries in developing it; it comes forth as a product of the national imagination, in the subtlety of its flavoring and the infinite variety of its sameness. If one compares it with the meager results of Japanese imitation, one is at once impressed by the difference. If one examines the German methods in cooking with this point in mind, one sees that they are totally lacking in imaginative quality. One need not cavil at the breakfasts: they are Continental; but the other meals succeed each other in a monotonous series that is simply appalling. It is characteristic of the German point of view that, when this was mentioned, a good lady asked plaintively, 'What else could we have?' It is not for one moment to be thought that the food is unhygienic; in general, too, it is well-cooked, with good substantial materials; but its flavor is ever the same, and the suppers vary not a jot from one year's end to the other. Little attention is paid to outward form; the result is too great stodginess and a lack of the cook's touch. One may take the soups as criteria: they are good soups, made of excellent materials, but they are always thick purées; the lighter consommés, the delicate broths, are seldom found. They remind one of

the 'Loden' clothing material, which keeps out the wind and rain, but which looks atrocious.

The retardation of the development of these graces of living is shown also by the attitude toward the matter of heating. Central heating, which is usually synonymous with overheating in America, was not and is not prevalent, both because of the high price of coal and because the Germans, like the English, do not believe in that particular form of waste. On the other hand, the German tile stoves, often very ornamental in form, or examples of the latest '-ism' in art, are completely unsatisfactory if any direct ventilation is attempted. These stoves, by which the Germans, and at which the foreigners, swear, burn briquettes, an economical, gentle, and cleanly form of heating. But they are usually fired only once a day, and by night are well cooled off. If one opens the bedroom windows, one has an icy room or set of rooms by morning, since there is no additional heat added to the unit during the night, and there is no way of getting heat till long after the servant has fired in the morning. Besides this, the unit is different for each room, and the air currents and the size of room affect the stove profoundly, so that an even temperature is difficult to maintain. As the Germans still do not, in the main, believe in opening windows at night, the stoves are as satisfactory for them as possible. That this dislike of opening windows has nothing to do with a lower social stratum is shown by a passage in Wassermann's 'Christian Wahnschaffe,'

where the hero, the son of a fabulously wealthy industrialist, gets up in the spring morning and throws open his windows. He is a modern young man, reasonably athletic, and thoroughly acquainted with the international customs of Europe, including England. One still sees heavy strips of felt nailed across windows, which are thus sealed for the winter. It must also be borne in mind that the Germans have always built high ceilings, and that heat, in Germany, as elsewhere, obeys the law by rising, so that the upper parts of the average German room near the ceiling are, no doubt, far the most comfortable. Strangely enough, the rooms at the university were fearfully overheated, so that one could not lecture, in a vigorous American fashion, at least, without getting into a dripping perspiration, but, when the *Famulus* attempted to open the windows, he was told by the janitor that there was a university regulation against it. And many of the rooms had air that reeked beyond most of what one finds even in the reeking Orient. The museums, however, excepting the German Museum in Munich, were cold. The Germanic Museum in Nuremberg was practically impossible; the art galleries in Munich, the Palace at Anspach, to cite a few examples, were too cold to be really enjoyed.

The housing shortage and the coal shortage combined have had a retarding effect on the development of proper bathing facilities. Europe never could offer what America and Japan can in these matters. There

has, however, actually been little progress in this direction, either theoretically or practically. People have had to give up their bathrooms to make bedrooms; gas heaters were dispensed with on account of the high price of heating; during the war, they were sealed up officially, so that people got out of the habit of using them. Bathing is sufficiently a ceremony to call forth the notice in one hotel, at least, that guests are requested, in the interest of all, not to remain in the bath longer than one hour. But the moderate-priced hotels are rapidly modernizing themselves, and rooms with running hot and cold water are becoming more and more common. Nevertheless, it seems that, for all their interest in sanitation and in public health, the German general public still takes less interest in bathing than in any other of the more obvious forms of cleanliness. It may be said, in passing, that the standards of city cleanliness, of cleanliness in railroad cars and public buildings, have gone down a great deal. No German city was quite so dirty as Paris, but the German cities were far less clean than they were twenty years ago.

Housing shortages, with their concomitant crowding and the unlovely makeshifts which result, are characteristic of the life of big cities all over the world. One can read of these in Shanghai and Peking, as well as in New York and Berlin. But the farther advanced people are in their culture wants, the less picturesque the packing together becomes. In the East, where rubbing elbows with one's neighbor is

more a literal performance than it is in the West, the resultant accommodations of individual to individual bring with them an entirely different set of pictures than they do in the Occident. With whatever olfactory sensations one looks down on a deck packed with Shantung coolies on their way back from Manchuria, one must admit a certain ability on their part to adjust themselves to a situation which would bring only irritation to the point of unpleasant incidents in an equivalent group of Westerners; and what is more, there is still, in all such Oriental crowds, a picturesqueness based on an accommodation of self to environment which, at bottom, is a really artistic attitude toward life, and is totally lacking in the Occident. For this reason, the overcrowded tenements of Europe are so ugly, so sordid; they quite vie with American slums in dull stolidity.

What the results of overcrowded living conditions are in Germany in the way of increased immorality of all kinds, what the effect is on juvenile crime, must be left for strict sociological investigation to say. German living quarters for the poor were, at best, never inviting; the present situation brings no opportunity for immediate and thoroughgoing betterment. According, however, to accounts in the newspapers, juvenile crime was fast decreasing.¹

The housing problem must be looked at in its whole economic nexus, to see clearly the effect on Germany.

¹ In the article, 'Rückgang der Kriminalität der Jugendlichen,' *Neue Leipziger Zeitung*, January 21, 1926, page 3, the author, Dr. Helland, chief of the *Kriminalamt* in Leipzig, takes a very optimistic attitude.

The primary social fact to be dealt with is that, even ten years after the war, the German still has a definitely limited mobility. This limitation of mobility is due, not only to lack of cash, but also to the fact that he is still unwelcome in some countries, as in the British colonies, and Australia. Even if the United States welcomes him, especially if he is an agricultural laborer, he finds it difficult to get away; his fields of activity tend more and more to concentrate themselves; the conditions in countries to which he formerly was wont to go, as, for example, Brazil, have altered very much for the worse, so that there is difficulty in finding any economic outlet for the surplus population, the surplus products and the surplus energy.¹ There is, both within and without the country, a limitation of real mobility, the effect of which will be to tend to strengthen the provincialism of the Germans and to tend to make more narrow whatever narrowness the war, through the cutting-off of communications, has already caused.

The lower classes, those who travel little and who have not the emigrant spirit, try to rise above the sordidness of the city by means of the garden colonies to be found on the outskirts of even the smaller towns. The natural desire to get away, to get into the open, is satisfied, the garden furnishes fruit or vegetables, and

¹ When the Germans began to make the real state of affairs in Brazil known, the Brazilian Minister protested, threatening vengeance if the 'anti-Brazilian propaganda' were not stopped. Did this have anything to do with the Brazilian attitude toward Germany's seat in the League of Nations?

all the purposes of a vacation are met by these settlements, many of which contain very charming places. Even in America, the average citizen, with his excellent home, his conveniences, is filled with a restless desire to get into his car and go somewhere. The average German cannot get into his car, for he has none. He has also to contend with a climate in which any small favors in the way of sunny days are regarded with thankfulness. His country roads leave much to be desired. The best he can do is to fill the parks and the excursion routes with the usual perspiring and weary stream of people, taking their weekly or monthly 'toil of pleasure.' But the home-loving German, longing for a bit of out-of-doors in his wretched climate, builds the little 'garden cities' in his suburbs. Waste land is thus utilized and made slightly productive. He erects, if possible, on his little napkin of ground, a hut in which to spend the summer afternoons and the long evenings, when night comes at ten o'clock; he cultivates this bit according to his purse and his fancy, and fills the outskirts of his city with a seeming squatterdom that is of the deepest social and psychological significance. It is the only way in which the poorer classes can escape from the deadly monotony of their daily lives. Some of these little huts have taken on a semblance of permanency. They express the desire of their owner for a 'villa,' a detached house in the country; they have vines and trees and are, to all intents and purposes, little country homes; but, in the main, the gardens are no more than tiny plots, some

with the merest shelter in case of rain, others with all the space given up to the growing of the vegetables which are so generally lacking in the heavy German diet. But wherever one looks, there are flowers; here the love of beauty struggles through and maintains itself in the atmosphere of the gas-tanks, the rubbish heaps, and the garbage-disposal plants.

The only reminiscence of the inflation which has been left in the minds of people outside of Germany is the lingering feeling that, in some way or other, things are still very cheap in that country and that something — very indefinite — is the matter with the German mark. The postage-stamp dealers still sell high-valued postage stamps of the inflation period for small sums, and every one who had friends in Germany during that time retains an envelope or two with stamps to the value of a few billions on it. This is its sole importance in the popular mind abroad. During the time of the inflation the stampede was touched upon in the magazines, but, in general, the whole inflation has passed from the world's ken, leaving, naturally enough, its effect only in Germany. But in that country the sudden fall of the currency, a fall so catastrophic in its effect, could not help but leave the deepest impression upon the minds of those who were forced to pass through the period. There is no topic of conversation in Germany, not even the war, which brings with it such vivid memories, so vividly described, as the inflation.

The reason why the inflation left such an impression

on Germany is because it was not until Germany had gone through it that the gait of the past was finally broken. The war spurred Germany to ever-renewed effort, it made privations glorious, and it united the nation in one supreme emotional urge; there was, through it all, a national rhythm caused by the harmony of emotion and goal. The Germans are united in saying, and firmly believe, that when the war was over they were ready to accept the fact (bitter, to be sure, but a fact) of defeat. Immediately, thereupon, there came a series of disintegrations, each one of which added to cumulative effect upon the crowd-mind. The first of these disintegrations occurred immediately, in November, 1918, in the change into a republican form of government; this was closely followed by the shock of a general loss of loyalty and national pride, because of the attitude of the Kaiser and of most of the ruling families. This loss of pride was further augmented by some of the facts which the Germans were forced to face, both in regard to what the world thought of them, and from the treatment accorded to them as a defeated nation. A still stronger disintegrating factor was the loss of hope after the peace treaty, coupled with the invasion of the Ruhr. This disintegration was even a physical one, in that it forced the idea of a lost territory deep into the heart of the nation's industry. The separatist movements, undertaken in the interests of France or by French agents, began to quicken the pace which, by that time, had begun to show signs of the acceleration of

frenzy: The final collapse of morale came with the collapse of the currency.

A violent movement of the currency strikes home to the common men as nothing else does. Most people, even fairly well-educated people, cannot visualize to themselves the idea of foreign exchange. Currency seems to them something entirely stable, something which can be reckoned with, and counted upon at all times to function perfectly; they regard their wages quite as wealth. They do not know that in the most normal of times money fluctuates, that the prices which they pay for things also fluctuate in relation to exchange. As such changes are all indirect, the whole process is an unconscious one. When, therefore, currency begins to waver, the very foundations of life seem to quake. Of course, the fact of a rapidly rising currency is not so catastrophic as that of a rapidly falling one. Rising exchanges spur people to speculation in foreign exchange; falling exchanges encourage wild spending. Where, as in Germany, the fall in exchange became finally so complete a nightmare, the speculation in foreign exchange was carried on by means of such actual foreign money as could be obtained. German money was, first and last, thrown on the market in the wildest effort to purchase with it while purchasing was at all possible.

The stories told by the Germans of their experiences during the period are sometimes tragi-comic and are told with 'gallows-humor.' A professor who had a salary the rate of which varied with the exchange

received it in bi-weekly installments. His wife met him at the paying-office and together they rushed off, before the morning was over, to buy whatever they could. Whatever was left in the afternoon was sure to be devaluated. The stores were kept open by force; with a falling exchange it was impossible to reckon profits. At the end of the period, many a shop-keeper had a trunkful of worthless bank-notes. There is hardly a family that does not have its uncountable billions. It was at this period that the foreigners rushed in and bought everything they could lay their hands on: books, grain, jewelry, works of art, in fact, everything that could be got out of the country before the embargoes were laid, or before the system of unit prices, to be multiplied by so and so many thousands of marks according to the day's rate of exchange, was introduced, or before, finally, goods for export had to be paid for in foreign currency. The story of an automobile having been bought for two American dollars may be *ben trovato*, but it is well known that the far-sighted Japanese and to some extent the Chinese made extensive purchases of books and machinery. The Scandinavian countries also profited largely.

Stories like these are very common: a German family which was in possession of a valued oil painting found that they must sell, and received a very fair price for the valuable heirloom; when the money arrived, two weeks later, it purchased a half-pound of oleomargarine. The sense of frustration which experi-

ences like this caused can only be understood by hearing the experience from the people's own lips. A certain old woman entered a shop to purchase goods. She was told the price in thousands and tens of thousands of marks. She handed her pocketbook over to the shopkeeper and said, 'I am too old to learn to count in such figures. Take out the price and leave me in peace.' She was asked, 'How old are you, anyway?' and her reply indicates a confusion caused by what some one has called 'cipheritis.' She said, 'I am seventy million years old.' In the case of a Bavarian peasant, the crude humor of his type came to the fore. Upon being told the price in millions of marks of a ticket from Munich to his home in the mountains, he exclaimed, 'I want to go to Pöking, Upper Bavaria, not to Peking, China.'

The inflation has become an impression, as if of a bad dream, something that was so fantastic as to be unbelievable, and yet so real that people's faces grow pale and their hands tremble when recounting the financial terrors of that time. The social effect of the inflation was particularly noticeable upon the young people and upon the working classes, neither of which could be got to see either the value of money or the necessity of saving. It was only at the end of 1925 and the beginning of 1926 that a change began to set in; people no longer felt that tangible goods were better than probably worthless currency, and, according to an officer connected with the city pawnshop in Leipzig, the lower classes in that city, which may be re-

garded as typical because of its industrialism, were beginning to pawn the goods which they had so eagerly bought during the inflation. Nearly every one complained that the young people felt that it was better to spend while the spending was good, and that this had had a distinctly deleterious effect. The resentment against the foreigners who had bought out Germany was beginning to die away, as a sufficient supply of goods began to come on the market, but the period from the stabilization in 1924 to the final abandonment of the Rentenmark in 1925 had been a period of uncertainty, privation, and despair. For, in the final instance, the great effect of the inflation was to ruin the middle classes. Those people who had had a small income sufficient to pass their days in comparative ease were completely wiped out. With them went a good many war profiteers, but the burden fell hardest upon just those who had been most patriotic in subscribing to the war loans. As the Government was insistent in this matter, trustees and guardians were compelled to invest funds in Government securities which were already tottering, and thus the Government assisted in ruining many widows and orphans.

During and immediately after the inflation, when values in goods were higher than values in coin, there was a breakdown of morals relating to property; baggage was not safe, even when checked, and all sorts of devices were sold to lock suitcases to the racks in the trains. It was during this time that the University of

Leipzig put up the placards, still seen, announcing that it had purchased eight thousand chains, and that those who did not fasten their overcoats by one of these had no claim on the university in case of theft. Those times have gone by; people leave their luggage in the charge of fellow passengers and display the usual confidence one feels in civilized countries. But there were signs that a wave of embezzlement was sweeping over Germany. Hardly a week passed but one read of a defalcation somewhere, and the defalcations occurred both of public and private funds. In the reaction after the breakdown of the strict bureaucracy, new forces have come into public life that lack the responsibility of the old official caste, which, whatever may have been its faults, had a high sense of devotion to duty and an impeccable sense of honor. The reshuffling of the political cards, which first showed the advanced radicals that they had neither the training nor the fitness for the delicate problems which Germany had been called on to solve, brought to the surface elements which were imbued only with the fine sense of the spoils system. This accounts for the misuse of public moneys; the general breakdown and the economic pressure have added their quota from private life. In this matter German morals have become surprisingly internationalized.

Whatever the real reasons for the inflation may be, they belong in a technical treatment of the problem and do not concern the present purposes of this discussion. The Germans themselves are naturally no

more expert than the lay person anywhere on such questions, and so their opinions have no special weight when the causes of the inflation are being considered. But their *feelings* as to these causes, whether right or wrong, naturally determined political policies, votes, and attitudes of mind, toward both their own nation and foreign governments. The great consensus of honestly held opinion in Germany is that the inflation was caused by the need for more currency to meet the exigencies of the Ruhr occupation, and that inflation was therefore an honest and necessary expedient forced upon Germans through illegal acts on the part of the French. Whether this be the 'real reason' or not, it is a 'good reason' and has pragmatically become the actual reason in the minds of most of the people in present-day Germany. There are some who are willing to admit that the Government made a dishonest bankruptcy in order to cancel its internal war obligations, and these persons point to the fact that the final result of the inflation succeeded in clearing away the internal war debts by ruining the middle classes whose investments were almost exclusively in this form of paper, and who had, from their position in life, little opportunity to invest in safe outside securities. No one with whom I talked would concede for a moment that the inflation was artificially brought about in order to enable Germany to dodge her external obligations. However, as the people are, in general, ignorant of the international background, or even the financial background of such

a movement within their own country, it is perfectly natural that their interest centers upon themselves, their feelings and experiences, rather than on the bald economic theories of causation. The inflation was a wild phantasmagoria, from the effects of which people's spirits are only now recovering as from a violent intoxication.

The same considerations which apply to the attitude of people toward the origins of inflation may be said to apply to the Dawes Plan, but with even greater restrictions. The Dawes Plan has made no such impression upon the imagination of the people, nor have its effects been directly visible upon the economic life of the individual. The latter feels that this plan is something by which the war debt is collected and that the collecting of this debt is an expensive matter for him. He does not feel, as does his fellow debtor in France, a resentment toward the American as the ultimate creditor, because there are intermediate creditors to be satisfied directly by him before America is reached. In fact, the general attitude in Germany is to hope for a return of American capital in large quantities.

The passionate outcries against the Dawes Plan have yielded to quieter judgment, and now no one urges defaulting. A typical and very sane discussion of the plan is found in a review by the Kiel Professor, Dr. Sven Helander.¹ Professor Helander points out that the plan is a compromise plan, as was to be expected if una-

¹ *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, September 11, 1926.

nimity of action were to be obtained, and that the compromise is shown in the choice of a committee from which Poincaré excluded Cassel and Keynes, by the fact of Poincaré's refusal to allow a lump sum to be fixed for Germany's war indebtedness, and by the fact that the committee, who call themselves practical business people, were jockeyed into the position, through the influence of the inflation during which the sessions were held, of rating Germany's recuperative powers too high. It is pointed out that to take the absolute size of Germany's population as a symptom of prosperity is an absurdity. It was also unfortunate for Germany that the inflation brought with it excessive investment of capital, the lack of system behind which was not remarked by the experts. The latter, therefore, overrated the specious efflorescence of business immediately after the inflation and before the credit restrictions of 1924. Since that time Germany has gone through a severe business and financial crisis, which was at its peak in the winter of 1925-26, when the unemployment figures rose to 1,700,000 (February, 1926). There is no doubt that the experts, if working at the present time, would considerably revise their estimate in a downward direction. No one in Germany to-day seriously believes that the plan is feasible, and the fact that there have been no violations must not deceive anybody, since the time for the highest annual payments has not yet arrived. These highest annual payments will be 2,500,000,000 marks, which are guaranteed by the railroads and by industry.

When one takes into consideration the total sum that is to be drawn from Germany, it is easily seen that the burden imposed on the country is very serious: an annual sum of 2,500,000,000 marks, to be divided up between the railroads, industry, and a tax on transportation. The important thing in the plan, however, which is also recognized as one of its advantages by Professor Helander, is that the payments are to be made in German currency, which is converted into other values only when, and to such an extent that, no serious derangements of exchange shall result. The separation of the problem of the conversion of the reparations and their amount is the really important thing in the plan. The Allies do not wish another inflation, and therefore the two questions were kept apart, even though there is an inner connection between them. It is pointed out that the purchasing power of Germany is bound to grow less because of the heavy burden of taxation, while the purchasing power of other nations is constantly increased in terms of relation to German goods. The struggle on the part of Germany for a favorable balance of trade becomes an actual danger to its economic life.

Much of what has appeared recently in regard to this question in the American magazines seems to the casual observer as due to *parti pris* opinion. The railroads are not what they were before the war, and the turning them over to the holding company has resulted in definite changes for the worse. So, for example, a good deal has been made of the alleged

fact that the scrapping of material at the end of the war and the forced reparations in cars, etc., have had a beneficial effect on the German railway system. One of the English experts has recently written a book in which he proves, to his own satisfaction, that the German railways are in a better physical condition than those of any other European country. The implication is that the heavy mortgaging of the railroads through the Dawes Plan has been, after all, an undisguised blessing and that the Germans have no cause to complain on the score of their railroads. It may be possible that first- and second-class travel have some comforts; my own experiences were entirely with the third class and occasionally, where, in the back country, there was only fourth-class, it was necessary to use that. There was nothing, however, about the first- and second-class carriages through which I went which made me feel that I was missing anything particular by traveling third. Third was expensive enough. The fares, third class, are comparable to American pre-war rates: the trip from Hamburg to Leipzig is about the same distance as that from Boston to New York, and the fare, third class, is the equivalent of five dollars United States currency. This gives the passenger a wooden seat in a compartment which is made to hold eight, and usually does. He has no free luggage, the wash and toilet accommodations are poor, and when he tries to make up for the lack of free baggage by taking suitcases into the compartment, he gets into conflict with the train

guards or station watchmen. He is always able, however, to carry on certain mathematical studies on the train, though he may not be able to arrive at the deep-seated reasons for his conclusions. The Germans have, as is well known, solved the problem of squaring the circle, and have applied the principle to their car wheels!

The whole system is retarded and hampered by the burden it has to bear. There is obviously no money for new equipment, and the cars which were made to supply immediate needs are poorly built, uncomfortable, and generally unsatisfactory. The schedules have been slowed down, there are fewer trains, and those are not nearly so well, punctually, and practically run as they were formerly. The permanent way is in a poor condition; one notices the difference, for example, immediately upon crossing the Dutch border, though it must be said that the German permanent way is not much, if any, worse than the French or Belgian. All the trains are overcrowded, even second class. There are too few non-smoking compartments, a fact which fills these to overflowing, or forces people into the smoking compartment. With the general grade of European tobacco what it always has been, the effect on one who is not fond of smoke, anyway, may be imagined. But in this, again, the Germans are perhaps better than the Belgians, who smoke undisturbed in the non-smoking compartments and even in the cinema where the walls are placarded with police notices not to smoke. The

Germans are disciplined and obey the rules — in general. There were some 'fresh' commercial travelers who tried to violate the law in almost every train, but the guards were always firm with them.

The whole impression of the German railway system is that it has gone back. The *Miteluropa* diners were perhaps the best feature. The food was not badly cooked, though very heavy, and the price was not exorbitant, considering how very expensive food and living are in Germany under present conditions. There were long waits at junctions, the waiting-rooms were extremely uncomfortable, and all in all there was no special exhilaration in travel. It is obvious to any one who rides with his eyes open that the equipment has not begun to move toward the pre-war level of efficiency.

Because of the heavy taxes, this level of efficiency will not be reached for many years and the low level will obtain in other fields. Lavish tourist hotels will be built to catch the newly rich and the Americans, but the simple, clean, comfortable hotels for which Germany was famous have gone by the board. There are more hotels now with steam heat, electric light, and running water, but their prices are high, and they are neither interestingly characteristic nor do they breathe the old hospitality. Even in out-of-the-way places of tourist interest, like Dinkelsbühl, the hotels are modernized; in itself no fault, but the process has brought with it other standards, other angles of approach, and a certain loss of *Gemütlich-*

keit. The prices are naturally higher, but it must be emphasized that high prices are unavoidable in Germany, taxed as it is. It must be borne in mind, too, that the taxes in Germany go to pay debts outside the country; when the French claim that they are equally taxed, they neglect to mention that their money, in the main, has stayed at home and that one hand merely washes the other.

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOLS

RECENT discussion of differences between cultural and practical education in Germany — or Europe — is due, to a certain degree, to the infiltration of new pedagogical modes from America. Actually, the basis of all German education is intensely practical. The idea of a cultural education for its own sake, or of education for leisure, makes no appeal in Germany, because, in the first place, education is the only definite means of entrance to positions in the State, as well as to the professions; and, secondly, because in any older civilization, the ramifications of culture into life, whether practical or hedonistic, are so manifold and so taken for granted that the question of the separation of the two types of education never occurs to those dealing with educational affairs. Whereas, in America, for example, a study of English or American literature has to be defended from attacks by the so-called practically minded, a study of the national literature in Germany becomes the right of the German child as well as its duty and privilege. Such studies, which in America are cautiously and timidly advanced, against a dead weight of public inertia, are regarded, because of their importance in the development of the national ethos, as belonging to the whole composite known as ‘national-

ity,' the approach to which is clear, practical, and simple.

All American normal schools, teachers' colleges, educational associations, pedagogical magazines, and teacher-training institutes to the contrary notwithstanding, education in Germany is more a real business than it is in America, where it still remains (paralleling most other American activities) a game. The reason why the German system may be regarded as practical is because it aims to give people what they need, and no more, with the least interference on the part of outside instances with the educational system. So, for example, although education is entirely in the hands of the State, there is far less interference on the part of the State with education than in America. Also, in spite of the intense desire in America to be practical in education, we allow politics to play a consistent and subversive rôle in our educational system; whereas the Germans have a narrow and a specialized bureaucracy to handle questions of educational moment and send the funds through regular, definite, and recognized channels, the American system allows elected school boards, members of which have even been proved to have a sinister connection with the publishing houses, to vitiate and nullify the decision of specialists in school employ. German education is also practical because it is a recognized life-career; it is not a preliminary stage to matrimony, as is so often the case with the American public-school teachers, nor is it the last resort

and the final haven of refuge for the broken-down missionary or minister, as is frequently true in the American denominational college.

The general impression on the part of foreigners, that there runs through the old European classical education a strain of impracticability is based upon equivalent assumptions that suppose that the old-fashioned Chinese education was useless. Both of the curricula fitted their time and place, and they still can be shown to fit certain types of mind fully as well as, if not better than, classes in machine design, 'icings and other frostings' (to quote a recent summer school catalogue), cost-accounting, or the elements of toe-dancing. There is nothing to be said against any educational system which will bring the people what they need or aid them to have a finely broad outlook, or to develop further cultural desires, it being understood that the development of such cultural desires is not taken to mean to gratify the senses with luxuries, the obtaining of which strains the economic system to a point where, as in America, the luxuries have become necessities and have crowded out such simple virtues as hospitality, and the desire to do an honest day's work for an adequate amount of pay.

To be sure, the former German stratification of education was of more practical value to the ruling classes than to the plebs; with the change to the Republic, large sections of this stratification have disappeared and the early years of the school career have become unified.

There is something uncompromising about the German attitude toward schools. The fundamentals are taught rigidly and vigorously. For the child of the lower social classes, there are continuation schools after the formal schooling is finished. The school is a place solely for teachers and children. Visitors are admitted only upon application to the Ministry of Education. Foreigners do not understand why it is suggested that they apply through their diplomatic representatives for permission to visit the German schools. The reason is obvious: the school is not a game, to be enjoyed by the passing spectators, even if an admission fee be paid in the form of a speech, beginning, 'As I look into your bright and smiling faces.' The uncompromising attitude goes farther. Some years ago there was this statement in the catalogue of the business university organized and run by the syndics of the merchant guild of Berlin: 'Admission to the advanced courses in languages will be granted to those who have a knowledge of the languages concerned and not to those who once had this knowledge.'¹ This is quite a different theory of attainments from that which allows 'credits' to be accumulated in some distant past and to be handed over the Registrar's counter as a currency of admission, though they have become ever so debased in value.

What is especially surprising to an American in the German school system is its formal sobriety. With

¹ 'Vorhandene Kenntnisse, nicht vorhanden gewesene Kenntnisse.'

far less paraphernalia, with no technical cant, and without the strained, conscious effort to be pedagogical, to be modern, the German secondary-school system fulfills its purposes in an admirable way. There is no temptation to rush untried theories into practice. As the system is completely homogeneous, and as it has been a long time in developing, sweeping and revolutionary changes are not felt to be needed. There is no temptation to try, say, the Dalton plan for one term, only to abandon it in the next. One misses the vast vocabulary of educational slang and the violence of statistical psychological investigation. The slowness with which changes creep into the system, especially the obvious aversion to the many histrionic forms of psychological laboratory practice on the school child at the hands of none too thoroughly trained investigators, is due to the fact that, by and large, the Germans are one people, the psychology of which is, if not instinctively known to the educator, at least so constant that it can much more easily become his stock in trade than is the case in the so-called 'melting pot.'

On the other hand, there is plenty of opportunity for brightening and modernizing the German school system. It is too much to ask for the erection of new buildings at a time when the whole housing shortage is so serious a problem and when buildings are almost prohibitive in cost. Nor can much be said, in general, for the equipment of the German schools; in this respect, many of them would seem to the average

American pedagogue, used to the last word in modern school 'efficiency,' to be hardly more than the proverbial Mark Hopkins and his log. German textbooks, like all textbooks, vary much in value. In general, those I have examined are below the level of the American textbooks in make-up, in interest, and in breadth of treatment. They presuppose, perhaps, a more thorough knowledge of the subject on the part of the teacher, for there seem to be surprisingly few of them which 'teach themselves.' Classroom instruction in German schools depends, as classroom instruction does everywhere, primarily upon the personality of the teacher. It is my impression, from the schools which I visited, that the teaching was thorough, but extremely unimaginative. On the other hand, the teaching of literature in the secondary schools is carried on in a spirit of broad vision that very few American colleges can approach. In schools with a long literary tradition, such as the Französisches Gymnasium in Berlin, boys of fifteen and sixteen displayed a knowledge of literary facts, understood cross-references, and picked out *motifs* in a way which would do credit to the average graduate student. I am quite aware that it is the habit of the teachers in German schools, when visitors arrive, to switch on yesterday's lesson, and to bilk the development of the advance for the visitor. The result is that question and answer follow in a glib succession of perfection. In spite of this, the trained observer can tell where there is real knowledge and where there is parrot-like

repetition. My final judgment would be that the young people whom I heard reciting on German literature knew far more about European literature in general than three-fourths of the American college graduates. Wherever I heard new appeals developed, there was the same routine work that every teacher finds in presenting new facts, in inculcating them, and in drilling on the result.

The process of obtaining admission to schools in Germany is well known. If one is personally acquainted with a member of the Ministry, the permission is easily obtained: without this acquaintance, diplomatic channels must generally be resorted to. Even after one has the permission, one is expected to make all arrangements one's self, and no one even takes the trouble to inform the intending visitor where the schools are to be found which will interest him. In Saxony, although I was a guest of the Saxon Government, it took so long to get permission to visit the schools and so little help was accorded me in my efforts that I finally gave the whole thing up in disgust.

What was particularly difficult to understand was the confusion into which the school head and teachers seemed to be thrown when a visitor arrived with his credentials. There was practically never any pleasure at seeing the visitor, and he was always met as if he were an intruder. A ministerial order was an absolute passport to the schools of a given State, but the permission to attend classes was so grudgingly given

in most cases that one visitor, at least, never returned twice to the same school. One German professor, to whom complaint was made, told of a relative of his, an American college professor, who wished to visit schools, but whose time was limited. The German found it absolutely impossible to get permission for his kinsman, and said, very despondently, that the authorities simply could not be made to see the importance of rendering every assistance in their power to the American educator.

In this respect the Americans are more efficient and more courteous. On one occasion, I remember the visit of a distinguished German school-man to a Mid-West city. The director of the department in which the school-man was interested placed himself completely at the disposal of the German for every free hour, and enlisted the services of a college professor from the same city, who was a specialist in the subject, for the remaining school periods. The Board of Education offered its automobile, and the German educator was thus enabled, in three days of intense activity, to see the workings of the school system in a city of over a quarter of a million. There were over fifty teachers in his specialty in that city. He visited many of their classes, besides seeing every other type of school activity in the place, and left with a clear picture in his mind.

Although there are plenty of signs that the German elementary and secondary school system has not found itself in the necessary post-war readjustment,

it is not the type of conglomerate which the American school system is. For example, there still seems to be no definite goal for those pupils, especially girls, who do not pass through the entire secondary system. The final *Abiturient* examinations from the *Gymnasium* must be passed in order to secure entrance to the university. If the young person sets his or her aims a little lower, there are careers open to those who pass through the lower grades, but such careers — as, for instance, those of nurse, laboratory assistant in hospitals — are limited in number and seem constantly to be subjected to pressure from above. This pressure from above may be illustrated by the fact that a law was recently passed in Prussia that all candidates for the library career be required to have a Ph.D. degree. The effect of this would be to open a vocation which is largely of the educated clerical type, and which requires very specific tastes and abilities in arrangement, neatness, and orderliness, to persons, who, if the Ph.D. degree be rightly interpreted, are primarily scholars. What actually will take place, in this instance, will be to cut off from the career those in a lower stage of educational progress, and to swell the already overcrowded ranks of the maladjusted Ph.D.s. It is obvious that the proper procedure would be to link the students who have finished either the *Abitur*, or a lower grade, directly with a library-training course. Unfortunately, such courses, as we know them in their full efficiency in America, are unknown. This may serve as an

example of the lines along which a certain reform in the German school system might take place. The instance cited above indicates how extremely severe the pressure is on every position where education is a prerequisite. It is said, though the story is probably an exaggeration of the facts, that an advertisement for a librarian at five hundred marks a year was published and that there were one hundred and fifty applicants, all of them Ph.D.s. If there is in Germany so enormous a learned proletariat, it is no wonder that there is no desire to clarify the position in society of those who have dropped by the pedagogical wayside.¹

The influence of the present economic pressure is further exerted upon the teachers in the lower grades, where a teacher must now teach for several years, at least to the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight,

¹ An instance from another field of the depressing of the more highly educated to positions of a lower level is that of the officers of the German merchant marine. When these are compared with the officers of the American Shipping Board boats, for example, interesting differences come to the surface. The Germans are frequently, if not usually, men with *Gymnasium* training. As an American merchant captain put it, 'The German merchant ships have navy standards.' On many American boats the officers are practically illiterate, except for the technical matters which they are required to know. This has no relation to their ability as seamen; perhaps the Germans have considerably more education than they need to perform the work demanded of them. The matter has more direct bearing on the way shore leave is spent; here the advantage is entirely on the side of the Germans, who visit the museums, the galleries, and the noted sights and are able to discuss them intelligently. The leisure time on board is also used by the Germans for mental improvement: in painting, studying languages, in reading. The type of training and examinations through which the Germans go indicates an entirely different attitude toward the profession.

before it is possible for him or her to receive a permanent engagement.¹ That is to say, the system of the trial year has been extended, under the economic stress of circumstances, to include several of the candidate's first years of teaching. The object of this extension is to discourage young people from entering too freely into the teaching profession since it extends the age limit at which they would be pensionable. If a young teacher enters permanently into the profession at twenty-one or twenty-two, he or she becomes liable for pension several years earlier than one whose time is counted from the twenty-eighth year. At present, Germany is finding it imperative to pension those who have arrived at the proper age, which is reasonably early if the candidate began to teach early. This imposes a tremendous economic burden upon the State, a burden which is enhanced by the fact that the pressure of candidates for positions from below is so great that every one who is pensionable is forced to retire, whether he will or not, in order to make room for some young aspirant. The result is that the school system loses too early some of its more mature personnel and the community is burdened with ex-teachers who are not really incapacitated, and who are discontented with their idleness even though they draw a pension. If such people be allowed to work at other professions, the injustice is manifest. They compete outside of their specialty, they draw an income from the State, and are a maladjustment in its economic life.

¹ This is surely true in Prussia.

The typical American normal school, which caters in general to the more poorly endowed of the intellectually minded of the American school graduates, is unknown in Germany. The teacher seminaries for the training of public-school teachers are equivalent institutions, but they lack the intense class-consciousness of the American normal school and its entourage. One does not find in Germany that the professor of education is allowed to become the demigod to which he has been elevated in America. The result is that a large proportion of the usual educational 'bunk' is unheard in German pedagogical circles, which are also singularly free from the rapid jazz rhythm of America. They may even be said to be too slow, but their solidity is a definite rock upon which to build. However narrow the outlook of a German school teacher may be, unenlightened by the teacher's institute, or by Chautauquas and unwilling attendance on a distant metropolitan summer school, he has — for it is generally a man — a solidity of teaching and a grasp of his subject which ought to remain the first essentials of being able to teach. It should be admitted without question that the German could learn a good deal about method of presentation, about brightening dull subject-matter, and, in general, about humanizing school routine, but he can teach the American plenty about the necessity for the teacher to know the substance of what he is teaching.

The attempt to simplify, to clarify, and to brighten instruction is being made in Prussia; at least the

Prussian Bureau for Scientific Instruction is attempting by means of afternoon demonstrations to teach young graduates how to approach the natural sciences in the spirit of modern pedagogy.¹ It is characteristic of the German spirit that this organization should be run along bureaucratic lines, even though the actual object of the instruction is to enable the somewhat formally trained young scholars to meet the demands of a semi-socialized state which regards even the classroom as a *Gewerkschaft*. The Bureau, however, has nothing bureaucratic in its actual make-up. It is not only extremely flexible — that is, more directly practical and approachable — than any other similar organization which came under my observation, but what was particularly interesting was the extreme ingenuity with which biology, for example, was presented without elaborate apparatus. It is a striking comment on present economic conditions in Germany that the nation which is renowned the world over for the excellence of its scientific instruments should be forced in its own school laboratories to use ingenious but still crude makeshifts.

The first thing that strikes the observer about the German lower schools is that they are distinctly not social institutions. An increasing number of clubs is being formed under the coöperation and direction of the school authorities. One notes rowing and other sporting organizations, literary and language clubs;

¹ *Bericht über die Tätigkeit der preussischen Hauptstelle für den naturwissenschaftlichen Unterricht . . . Leipzig, 1919.*

radio and other science groups also flourish; but the tidal wave of societies, fraternities, clubs, dances, and the rest of the *allotria* surrounding an American school are completely unknown in Germany. Every secondary-school child is still in leading-strings. It is very doubtful if any *Gymnasiast* in all Germany owns an automobile; there are very few young people who drive them.

The playgrounds in the city schools are small and uninviting. The gymnasiums which I visited in the schools were invariably without shower baths. There may have been an improvement in this respect in the last two decades, but none came under my immediate observation. I remember twenty years ago asking a prominent educator who was showing the gymnasium in his school with some pride, 'Where are the shower baths?' His answer, 'Our boys are all wealthy enough to bathe at home,' seemed at that time entirely irrelevant, and it was not until long afterwards that it flashed across my mind that he and I were thinking in two entirely non-tangential circles. I took it for granted that one bathes after exercise. He took it for granted that only the poor people bathed away from home in public baths at the expense of the State. I was unable to discover that any serious change in attitude had taken place in this regard. The gymnasiums were, from our point of view, extremely uninviting. Here again there is an economic reason, but even if there were more money for improved 'gyms,' it is not certain that

they would be equipped as we should consider necessary.

However, the school yard, the school corridor, and school classrooms were filled with the same happy childhood that one finds everywhere when children have the privilege of attending school. The same little groups, doing the same sort of things, are found in America, in Germany, in China, and in Japan. Although the Oriental boy or girl may be somewhat less active than his American or European confrères, he gravitates toward the same forms of activity. The German children whom I observed seemed quite happy scuffling, eating lunches, sharing apples, jostling and milling about in the school yards, just as American children would. In general, they look fully as healthy, but, it must be remembered, they were largely outside the primary-school groups, where, according to the general consensus of opinion, there is very grave undernourishment. In some cities, especially in Bamberg, this undernourishment was apparent among all the children seen about the schools and in the streets. In other cities, such as Weimar, and even in Leipzig, where the industrial classes have a very low standard of living, the children, on the whole, seemed healthy.

The whole approach to education in Germany is different from that in America. It is not mainly because teaching is so fixed a career, very carefully graded and safeguarded, that the profession seems less of an adventure, but because the whole approach

is so distinctly national that to the casual observer it seems like an impregnable fortress which no passing knight-errant may storm. When one, however, enters into the sacred precincts of the educational stronghold, one finds the tone far more international than appears at first sight. Where both the approach and the tone of education in France are national, through the rigidity of the French social system, and the astonishingly able cult of the French language, and where in America the approach to all educational problems is so broadly international, while behind there lurks, not merely an obstinate national spirit, but even a narrow provincialism, Germany guards its externals, but leaves the inner precincts free and untrammelled. This is illustrated by the fact that education is by no means so closely linked with business as might even be considered expedient in an industrialized civilization like that of Germany. We find no short cuts to a career; the business college does not flourish. Schools of Business Administration are unknown, and such subjects as accounting, insurance, etc., are only now beginning to find their place in the curriculum; in fact, so little developed is this side of education that courses are now being given in the universities which would seem to be more suitable to the business course of American high schools. In Leipzig, for instance, the *Uebungen* in practical economics were of a most elementary character, and the professor was apologetically aware of the anomaly. It illustrates, at the same time, the tendency to push

up into the university those subjects which are essential to the higher careers, thus forcing the graduate of the secondary schools to remain in the lower walks of life.

There seems to be no interference of big business with education, though the large German industrialists, by their aid to scientific laboratories, assist not only in the development of applied but also of pure science. While it is certainly true that in the laboratories of the great chemical and electrical companies a vast amount of research is being done, it is not true, as it is to too great an extent in America, that the laboratory of the industrial concern takes the lead in scientific advance. The reason for this is that, in Germany, the university and not the primary or secondary school is always, and always has been, the focus of German intellectual life. No matter how much any individual German may rail at some special factor which he may object to in a given university, or in given fields of university endeavor, he would be found to cherish, *in petto*, deep respect for university activity as a whole.

It has been pointed out above that there may be some danger in an attitude which constantly and consciously projects the whole intellectual life of a nation toward its higher realms. It must end in a hardening of the stratification in the social system, and there seems to be very little in present-day German educational tendencies to break through the strata and to focus the whole educational system

upon the career of each and every individual in a crowded society. Perhaps the value of such a system is that it sorts people out almost automatically; but when compared, for example, with that other similar system, the old classical examinations of the Chinese, it will be found to be far more rigid, in that it does not afford opportunities to every one, in every part of the country, to progress. The inflexibility of the old Chinese system was no greater than that of the German, *mutatis mutandis*, for, even though it was the sole means to an official career, it was a vast popular goal of ambition, open to every one; in it, economic determinism played a distinctly minor part. The competition in Germany rests upon a determinism more absolute, not only because of economic pressure, but because of the kind of organization omnipresent at every stage of the candidate's career. Where, in the Chinese system, inflexible as that might be, the final crowning reward of the highest graduate, the *Chuang Yüan*, came from the Emperor himself, the function of making awards, or at least of preparing for the State career, is a monopoly of the German universities.

The German secondary school or *Gymnasium* is not quite as high in grade as the American college, though its certificate is accepted in the United States as the equivalent of the first degree. This certificate confers no such social prestige as does the possession of a Bachelor's degree; such social status is only attained by attendance at a university. The social idea

is mirrored in linguistic practice. The German 'studies' only at a university; elsewhere he 'learns.' 'Have you studied?' means 'Have you been at a university?' All other forms of exposure to intellectual influences are regarded as subordinate. In the secondary school, which, while extremely thorough, has, in general, a narrower outlook than the American college, the social life is reduced to a minimum. This carefully directed minimum allows the pupils little chance for initiative or independence. Naturally, therefore, 'honors' and 'activities' are almost unknown in the sense in which they flourish in an American college. The natural result is that the graduates are unready to take their places in the social world in the same way as do the graduates of American colleges. Only with the entrance into the university does the horizon broaden, a fact which naturally increases the prestige of the universities.

There is, at this point, the greatest weakness in the whole German attitude toward education; that is, both socially and pedagogically. The break between secondary school and university is far too sharp, and I know, from experience, that far too many students waste their first semesters at the university in hopeless floundering. They are not ready for the lecture-type of treatment, they are given almost no vocational guidance, and they are treated as independent intellectual units at a time when they are really only gawky boys and embarrassed girls, vainly groping for an intellectual hold.

CHAPTER IV

THE UNIVERSITIES

THE German university is the real educational dignity of the country. After all the assaults on it, both from the socialistic and communistic groups in control of Germany's political fortunes, and from those outside of Germany who decried the university because of the nationalistic political opinions of the professors, and who deduced, from their dislike of these opinions, that German science was valueless, the German university is still pursuing its way, impeded, to be sure, by lack of material means, but nevertheless going ahead with such purposefulness that it must command the admiration of every one who becomes acquainted with it.

If one looks over the history of the German universities, it is interesting to note how their founding coincides with the consciousness of needs felt by the various groups who were responsible for their inception. But these needs coincided with large national waves of thought or with foci of development, as well as with the local need for an educational center in a given district, and thus limited, to some extent, the general international character which all mediæval universities enjoyed. The first group, such as Heidelberg (1386), Leipzig (1409), and Rostock (1419), rest upon the old scholastic foundations; and are widely apart, geographically. Tübingen (1477), for

instance, begins to show a transition, but with the Reformation there was an efflorescence to meet the requirements of the new era. Marburg (1527) and Königsberg (1544) represent this period. Jena (1558) is a center, in time and place, of the Reformation. Halle (1694) and Göttingen (1737) show the dawn of modern science, the break with the Latinized culture of the past; the latter university, especially, marks the broadening of the intellectual outlook of Northern Germany through the connection of Hannover with England. The rise of South Germany to cultural and intellectual prominence is signalized by the transfer of the old university of Ingolstadt-Landshut to Munich (1826), while the predominant part which Prussia began to play in German life was signalized by the foundation of Berlin (1810) and Bonn (1818); and the refoundation of Breslau (1811) shows its easterly expansion. The sweeping-away of many old universities, such as Erfurt, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is also significant, because it definitely marks, not merely concentration, as does the union of Frankfort-on-the-Oder with Wittenberg-Halle, but signalizes a definite break with past traditions and outworn institutions. The Napoleonic wars brought about the collapse of many of these universities: Treves and Mayence (1798), Dillingen (1803), Altdorf (1809). All this shows that throughout the history of German university development, there has been an astonishing vitality in these institutions and an ability on their part quite consciously to adjust

themselves to the broader and more fundamental needs of their time. From this point of view it is, therefore, a very significant phenomenon that at the beginning of the twentieth century there should arise three important and extremely vital new city universities: Frankfort-on-the-Main (1914), Hamburg (1919), and Cologne (1919).¹

It is of primary social significance that these institutions are founded in industrial and commercial centers of the importance of the cities mentioned. Frankfort, for example, showed an increase in population between 1900 and 1910 of about thirty-five per cent, thus 'vying in increase of population with many rapidly growing American cities.' The importance of Hamburg, as the second city in Germany, with vast commercial ramifications, is too well known to need comment. It is also worth noting that all three of these universities are situated on what might be called the intellectual frontier of Germany. Cologne is the center for the whole Rhine district. Its industrialism, its social *verve*, and its commercial prosperity depend, to some extent, upon an interchange, both of goods and of ideas, between Germany and Holland on the one hand, and Germany, France, and Belgium on the other. Its position in West Germany is therefore strategic to a degree. Frankfort, farther south, and on the most important tributary of the Rhine,

¹ For latest information regarding German universities, see: Remme, *Die Hochschulen Deutschlands*, Berlin, 1926. A thoroughly practical book for foreigners.

also farther inland from the cultural frontier as well as from the political boundary, is nevertheless on the edge of the disputed and occupied districts, and has been until recently almost within the occupied area. It forms a surrogate for the lost University of Strassburg and can compensate for that loss through its position in a large city better than the somewhat secluded University of Tübingen, and the flourishing but still rural University of Heidelberg. For no matter how important the farmer may be in Germany, that country is highly industrialized; the focus of industrialization is the city; art, literature, and music tend to concentrate in the centers of population. When these centers of population have, besides, a long history and tradition, when their roots go as deep into the cultural soil of their country as do the roots of Cologne and Frankfort, they are bound to become leading intellectual centers, unless the change of population-type is so complete as to destroy the old culture-consciousness. But in the case not only of these two cities, but also of Hamburg, there is an awakening consciousness which evinces itself, where possible, in the preservation of old monuments, in the revivification of past local contributions to the arts, such as, for example, the careful preservation in the Richards-Walratz Museum of the early Cologne painters, centering around and culminating in Stephen Lochner, or the equivalent treatment in Hamburg of Meister Francke and Meister Wilhelm. It will readily be seen, therefore, that such

universities have been founded in obedience to some deeper impulse which, at a time of such need, establishes these three universities as a cultural bulwark in the North and West of Germany. It is significant, too, that an equivalent development has not been possible in the East. There is nothing which neutralizes the disruptive effects of the Polish Corridor upon Northeastern Germany. Königsberg can hardly stand out with sufficient force against the non-German element with which it is surrounded; and the University of Breslau, in a very real sense on the cultural frontier of Germany, seems unable to make the headway that it ought. An acquaintance of mine, who recently accepted a call away from there, expressed his feeling in regard to this cultural effort very clearly. His idea was, if I understood correctly, that the culture-consciousness of the East of Germany seemed to be more or less engulfed by other phases, that the struggle for political entity was combined with a race-struggle in such a way as to make other problems secondary. Another acquaintance who accepted a call to Breslau did so only in order to rise from an assistant professorship to a full professorship. In my talk with him, he made very clear that he felt that he was going into cultural exile. This is a curious phenomenon which is difficult to explain, though it may be partly explained by the fact that the extreme East of Germany is, temporarily at least, economically less prosperous than the West; yet that Germany should not concentrate her cultural

cannons on the East, should not throw out stronger cultural salients in this direction, is extremely surprising.¹ There was a feeling in my mind that in some way the East had been abandoned for the time being, and that Germany was much more interested in developing the intellectual life in the West.

The geographic configuration of the country in the South, the interposition of Austria on the one hand, and Switzerland on the other, between Germany and the countries to the south, relieve it of the necessity of strengthening the Southern culture-frontiers, though the steady rise in importance of the University of Munich shows an activity in that region which is extremely important. The South of Germany, too, is homogeneous in religion with the countries adjoining it; this homogeneity is true, to a large measure, along the Rhine, but language differences prevail to the west and there are sharp political conflicts. What the effect of Mussolini's campaign of Italianization on the German population of South Tirol will be in the way of counter-moves of cultural propaganda, it is too early to prophesy.

The university, then, is connected through many channels with the whole cultural background of Germany, and its influence at the apex or perhaps on the plateau of the whole educational system is correspondingly great. It is no wonder that the highest official positions and social distinctions tend to radiate

¹ There is, however, also a comparatively new technical university in Breslau (1910).

from the university as a center, nor is it to be wondered at that the universities enjoy privileged positions as independent corporate bodies. They have been independent corporations for so many years that the present slight interference with some of their corporate privileges on the part of a socialized government is most bitterly resented. To be sure, this control would seem to an American to be of the slightest. Perhaps the large private foundations in America are equally free, but an American State University, with its Board of Regents, is far more subject, not merely to petty and irritating interference, but to serious disturbance of intellectual and financial policy through legislative or other control. The German university also enjoys a complete and happy freedom from that species of American pest known as the 'alumnus.' The University 'civus' is always a member of the intellectual state in which he was once enrolled, but he does not return at stated intervals, to don a fantastic costume, and to exercise the influence of a perpetual sophomorphism upon his Alma Mater.

As the university is State-controlled in Germany, it is financed by the State. The presiding officer, therefore, is neither a publicity agent, a campaign manager, nor a high-grade panhandler. The presiding officer, in Germany called the *Rektor*, is elected annually from the faculty. He is *primus inter pares*, and although he is addressed as '*Magnificenz*,' with the verb in the third person plural, he receives these marks of respect

as a sign of his office when he is handed the ancient symbols of his rank, and it is all a part of the tradition of dignity and sobriety which surrounds the university, as the Rector's velvet gown envelops him. He is not, therefore, the arbiter of the personal fortunes of the faculty. 'Jobs' do not depend upon his whim. He may not curtail one department for the sake of another more favored one. It is not necessary to kotow to him for advancement. He calls no trembling assistant professor or instructor before him to demand the production of a piece of research as a *quid pro quo* for an increase in salary. He is the embodied symbol of the university. He manages its affairs with tact, judgment, and resourcefulness. University politics, of course, play a part in a German university. The Rector must maintain the proper balance. Grave breaches of discipline come before him for settlement, such as the virulent attack by the Chinese students in Berlin, through the medium of placard, newspaper, and cablegram, upon the good faith of the Germans in regard to Tsingtao. Such matters have international aspects and require real ability to settle them. But when they are settled, and the term of his rectorate is over, the Rector slips quietly back into the ranks of the professors, as one who has had a great honor imposed upon him, but as a very tired if not sometimes really broken man. The fact that the university has such a large measure of intellectual independence, while at the same time suffering from the economic crisis through which Germany has been

passing, makes the position of Rector at present a particularly difficult one.

The disadvantages of having an elective president are perfectly clear to the Germans. Those who have been chosen for this honor purchase it at the price of a year of the hardest labor of their academic life. Although the continuity of the administration is maintained by secretaries and by certain permanent administrative officers, the fact that the chief administrative officer has to be inducted into his position each year slows down the administrative machinery very perceptibly. The Rector is elected in the spring, and takes office at the beginning of the winter semester. By the time he has fully understood the inherited problems of his office, he finds the current ones piling up alarmingly about him. The results inevitably seem to be overwork and physical breakdown. It must be remembered that the Rector is not entirely relieved from teaching. Whether he might be, if he wished to be, I am not certain, but as he always has certain students whose work he is supervising, or who are getting ready to complete their investigations, he feels it incumbent upon him not to leave them in the lurch; nor can he safely lose contact with the problems of his own department, since he is very sure to be a departmental chief. When asked about private research, the Rectors always shrugged their shoulders and smiled. The physical distance which often separates the administrative buildings of a German university from its outlying clinics and laboratories

plays an important rôle in using up the Rector's time. In the case of the various deans, who are also elected annually, the conditions are about the same, though the dean does not have the staggering weight of responsibility that crushes the Rector.

In spite of all this, it never seemed to me that the German university Rectors were as flurried as their American colleagues are apt to be. They are fully as busy. Those whom I met solved the problems of their office with a dignity, a tact, a courtesy, and a real kindness that filled me with a genuine admiration for the good sense of their colleagues in their choice of a head, as well as with the warmest personal feelings for those heads themselves. Men like Rentdorff, Le Blanc, and Pompeckj, drawn from the rank and file of the professorial group, meet their problems with fully as much common-sense and lead them to just as successful conclusions as do the trained administrators of American institutions. The German system avoids the sharp distinction between faculty and administration. In America, where the faculty is frequently an administrative and judicial body, the chief university executive arrogates to himself dictatorial powers and often becomes a czar. Such conflict is avoided by rotation in office and, of course, by the fact that the Rector has no financial hold upon his colleagues. University administration in Germany is kept within the control of the faculty, where it belongs; whether the subordinate cogs in the wheel always function smoothly may be open to some

question. The recent removal of the entire financial department of the university from its own control to that of the State financial machinery brings about some friction. Thus the University Quæstor in Leipzig is not a university, but a State official, a fact which causes some administrative inconvenience.

But the finances of the university are State finances. With trifling exceptions, all funds are derived from the State. As that State is now a socialistic State (they are all invariably called such and such a 'free State'), and as the universities are unswervingly conservative, it is quite natural that the State should keep close watch upon its higher educational institutions. Considering the sharp divergence of opinion which must exist between the present type of the German State and the political ideals of the individual university groups, there was surprisingly little interference. The reason for this is, primarily, the enormous prestige of the university, and the clear recognition of the fact that, in its scientific aspects, it stands above the State in objectivity and in historic continuity. Yet certain limitations have been placed upon the university's freedom. Not only has it less control of its own finances, but it also must take the State into consideration in calling new professors. It did not seem to me that any such control was in the least irksome, or especially obvious. Certainly, before the Revolution, the ruling monarch and his court exercised, or could exercise, an equal control. At the present time, the officials in charge of university

affairs at the capital, both in Dresden and Berlin, as well as in Hamburg, were of the highest culture and men of deepest sympathy with, and understanding for, university problems. They were not in any case proletarians, but rather the contrary, and they seemed, in some respects, rather more progressive than the average run of the professors. The State may consciously interfere with the university. When there is any seeming tendency to do so, the university insists upon its rights, invokes its ancient privileges, and the State withdraws. Actually, the State is extremely proud of its universities, some of which antedate, as corporate entities, the State in which they exist.

Germany is still 'A nation of demned professors.' In his sphere, the German professor enjoys, on the whole, greater freedom than any other person on the face of the earth. Where he is bound, it is by the tradition of his caste, but intellectually and socially he is completely master of the situation. Now that the aristocracy in Germany has disappeared, the German professor has become enthroned more firmly than ever before. This is a curious phenomenon, when one remembers that respect for the aristocratic tradition, and even for the individual aristocratic personality, is greater among the professorial group than elsewhere.

Academic freedom in Germany is a reality. The professor is entirely free to teach what he pleases, how he pleases, when he pleases, and how often he

pleases. No schedule committee determines either his number of hours or their place in the day's programme. He suits his schedule to his own habits of work and to the needs of his students. Since his students revolve about him as a personality, it is not necessary for him to slip in his hours to suit required courses in other departments, to suit the chapel exercises, the exigencies of the basket-ball or football schedules, or the necessity for band practice. No hours of the day or evening are otherwise coöpted. In Leipzig, in accordance with a new policy of health and athletic education, Wednesday afternoons were given over to sports. The reservation was generally respected, because of the great national need for a sports programme.

There may be, and surely are, both in giving courses and in making the schedule, some necessary adjustments and compromises, the results of an experience which meets practical needs. From the point of view of an outsider, it often seems as if the German professors chose by preference the conceivably most inconvenient hours of the day for lectures; one wonders why so many courses are offered to extremely hungry students from twelve to one, and why the hours from four to seven are so heavily crowded. Naturally, the somewhat fantastic meal hours in Germany have influenced this development. If one happens to take a somewhat general course, as is often the case with students in the early semesters, one is apt to find his schedule either startlingly heterogeneous, or to be involved in a mass of hopeless conflicts.

Within the department there are certain lines laid out by mutual agreement, to prevent duplicating, and to assure the candidates for degrees and for the State examinations, of the requisite courses to meet these requirements. The seminar and the *Uebungen* are adjusted in the same way in large departments. Whether this is done consciously, or whether the clear demarcation of tastes and interests brings about a natural separation, is not clear to me. It seems, however, that in the choice of material the professor has the widest possible leeway. *Dozenten* were heard to complain that professors 'hogged' all the fat courses, and assistant professors occasionally raised a significant eyebrow on the same subject. Here, there is an economic nexus, because large courses bring large fees, in addition to salary.

In one respect a fundamental change has come over the whole professorial group. They were among those most seriously affected by the inflation. Where, previous to the war, the professorial ranks were largely recruited from persons with sufficient means to carry them through the probationary years, the cataclysmic elimination of such a circle from the German body politic has caused complete realignment of the university personnel. This realignment makes it impossible for the younger members of the teaching staff of the university to live on a private income, because, by and large, there are no private incomes among the educated classes, so that, as a result, the *Privatdozent* must find a means of subsistence, either

from the university itself, or through some allied activity, such as the curatorship of a museum; or he is thrown on his own to seek a livelihood by any of the dreary ways of poorly paid scholarship. In many instances the universities have been forced to pay salaries to their instructors; this is an entirely new departure and a definite change of principle. Even then, the outlook for a young man intending to enter the university teaching career is not promising, and the standard of living is depressed to the utmost. I remember the stare of blank amazement on the face of a young *Dozent*, when I asked him if he had heard a certain opera. His reply was characteristic and was found, upon experiment, to be invariably the same, nowadays: 'One of our rank has no money for operas.' When one considers how relatively reasonable the cost of opera is in Germany, one becomes aware how much such an answer implies. The young instructors were largely being deprived of the cultural advantages which their localities offered and for which these places were world-renowned. Many of these men were no longer young; some of them had had property, and, like their superiors, had been ruined by the inflation. All of them led fully as restricted lives outside of their professional interests as do instructors in out-of-the-way institutions in America. Their scale of living was far lower. As their entire future depended upon promotion into the professorial ranks, and as almost the sole means to promotion is the production of magazine articles and, more especially, of books,

there was among them a feverish activity and a concentration on scholarship which enhanced the narrowness of their outlook, no matter how much it broadened their knowledge in their respective spheres. It does not seem as if, by and large, the group from which the professorial ranks are to be recruited is to have that reserve force of culture that characterizes the professorial class of to-day.

Although the inflation has completely swept away the fortunes of the professorial class, it has left them with certain marks of their previous more comfortable status. The professor still lives like the gentleman that he is and that he has been accustomed to be. He is surrounded by his furniture, his *objets d'art*, in so far as he had them before the war, and, above all things, he still has his splendid library. The libraries of the German professors need no description; they are of such character and magnitude that many of them rival in size those of small American colleges; as they are invariably highly specialized, they are often far more important collections of books on a subject or group of subjects than those of American universities. From my personal observation, libraries of ten to fifteen thousand volumes are extremely common; such libraries contain, not only rare books and pamphlets, but files of important journals. Those I had the privilege of looking over, made a very deep impression. Almost all of them showed a large gap from 1914 or thereabouts to 1922; from the latter year the curve began to rise, and, as far as could be

judged, all professors of any considerable reputation were again receiving a steady stream of books in their respective fields. Wherever possible, they supply themselves with everything which appears on their subject, no matter how great the financial sacrifice involved. Not all of them are forced necessarily to cut down the budget for 'bread and the circus,' as do the *Dozenten*, but in some cases it was quite obvious that '*Libri*' came before '*Liberi*.'

On the whole, the professorial class is conservative; a fair proportion is ultra-reactionary. Some are thoroughly radical, but, as far as could be gathered, the proportion of those who belong to Left-Wing political parties is extremely small. It is significant of the great freedom enjoyed by the university professor that he is not disturbed in his thinking. It is not necessary for him to conform to the outward trappings of the current political party to continue in office. In the middle of May, 1926, there was discovered in Berlin a so-called 'monarchist plot,' into which the name of an acquaintance of mine was dragged by the police, although he was not in any way involved. His reaction was quite characteristic; the matter was so serious that he felt constrained to make a statement before his classes, which were among the largest in the university. In his disavowal he stressed much more the injury to him as a member of the academic community than to his person or to himself as a citizen. The tenor of his general remarks made apparent that he held his academic freedom far

higher than his individual rights as a citizen. The so-called '*Putsch*' was largely a newspaper fabrication, so that other professors laughed the whole thing off. When it was suggested that guilt in such a matter might be construed by the Government as treason, it was made perfectly clear to me that such a charge would not be tolerated in such a case against a university professor in peaceful times. An interesting corollary to this is the case of a professor at the Technical University of Hannover who was defended against the student body, which was conservative, by the purely conservative authorities, for his radical standpoint. It is said of a certain Western university in the United States that no one ever succeeds there who is not a Republican, a Methodist, and a Mason.¹ Such questions do not enter into the choice of the professors in Germany. It is, however, true that a man of pronounced socialistic, to say nothing of communistic, principles would find it difficult to obtain a call to some of the universities which I visited. It was also said that the chief reason why a certain very widely known instructor failed to secure a professorship came from his radical political views. The case interested me; when I tried to get behind it, it seemed to me that there were also other contributing factors. German professors are human, and their alignments have the same kaleidoscopic variety of personal taste

¹ I cannot forbear to cite an experience of my own. I was candidate for a professorship in German at a university in a large and progressive Eastern city. The first question which the president asked me in our personal interview was, 'What are your opinions on the Trinity?'

and liking, of political sympathy, and of professional jealousy that characterize all other professors. In the election for Rector or Dean, the conservatives group together and try to get their men in. I was present when such an election was discussed by a group of extremely conservative professors who were much amused that in the faculty concerned the radical elements, who held the balance of power, had had no consciousness of their strength and had allowed the conservative candidate to be chosen. What was especially interesting in the discussion was the entire absence of rancor, though it was quite apparent that they held one of their radical colleagues in thorough contempt. The conversation was jockeyed around to his professional qualifications; then it at once became apparent that there were no criticisms whatsoever on this score. The incident was illuminating because of its reality. There was no inclination among the groups of professors anywhere to waste time in that dribble of personalities which is so large a part of the conversation in academic circles in the United States. If the German professors are characterized by little of the pale conventional liberalism of their American colleagues, they are also characterized by less fear of being considered something set apart if they are not meticulously correct in their mental behavior, and they display in their sturdy adherence to many an outworn ideal a vigor and a vitality which are refreshing, even when brusquely stated and tenaciously argued.

The freedom of the professor not only includes a wide range of liberty of thought, but an almost complete absence of administrative duties such as overwhelm his American colleagues. He escapes the endless succession of committees, and, unless he be a member of the Senate, is practically without administrative responsibility. He must, of course, if he belongs to the group of examiners, spend a good deal of time in reading dissertations and in examining candidates, but for this service he is paid extra. In recent years, also, owing to the readjustment caused by the war, some professors have been called upon for service in assisting in student-welfare. But all this is a mere trifle compared to what must be done by an American professor. There is also a complete freedom from irksome social duties with respect to students.

The relations to students are, in some respects, extremely peculiar. The line between student and professor is very sharply drawn, and the respect with which the student approaches him is completely foreign to the American attitude. Nearly all of the older full professors have the title '*Geheimrat*,' and no student ever dreams of addressing such a dignitary by anything but his title, with the verb in the third person plural. Some of the students seemed extremely embarrassed and awkward in the presence of their professors. It seemed as if the weight of the dignity of learning bore down upon the student and crushed him. What was peculiar in this relation was that this respect seemed more to emanate nat-

urally from the student than to be demanded by the professor. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to imagine a thoroughly 'free-and-easy' social relation. To one accustomed to the almost lax manners of the American student, and to the simple friendliness of the Chinese, the attitude of the German student was at times painful. The fault is really with the system which lays so much stress upon the results of successful educational attainment. To be sure, the German professor is an authority in his field and deserves to be respected, but I am convinced that those professors in the younger group, who are freely inviting students to their homes or who are organizing picnics and excursions, are important pioneers. Students do not 'run in' on their professors. They see them in the lecture-room, where the relation is absolutely formal; in the seminar the relation is still formal, though personalities do stand out, and the professor learns to know that selected group which goes to make up his advanced students. In the *Uebungen*, which are less formal than the seminar, the same chance is given to know the student. But the *Uebungen* are often in the hands of the assistants or lecturers, and the professor has nothing to do with them. Several professors of my acquaintance give parties once a semester to their advanced students. These take the form of the usual social gathering among educated people everywhere.

The professor is also free from attendance upon the various outside activities of American student life.

He is entirely unconcerned with intercollegiate athletics, for there are none. He is not pestered with the fraternity question; in fact, his business is definitely to devote himself to his task, which is scholarship, first and foremost, and from that his pedagogical activity is developed as a by-product. This brings one to the crux of the whole academic attitude in Germany and America. The German professor is primarily a research man; his ranks are recruited from the young scholars. There is no transfer, except in the rarest of instances, from the secondary-school career to the academic, though there have been cases known where men who contemplated the academic career earned money by teaching in the *Gymnasium*. But the shifting of a *Gymnasium* teacher to the university is practically unknown. This brings about an entirely different pedagogical ideal from that in America. The professor does not get up lectures upon subjects about which he knows nothing, so that somebody on the faculty may offer courses for which there is a student demand. The German university does not grope around among the members of its faculties for somebody to handle a given subject; if it is necessary to teach such a subject, a specialist is called, or, if there are no funds, the matter is held in abeyance. When a German professor humorously remarks that he did not know anything about such and such subject until he had given a course in it, '*discens docendo*,' he simply means that he has taken some special phase in his field, has ex-

amined it with especial attention, and has forced himself to subject his knowledge to that minute and systematic review which is prerequisite to classroom presentation. A professor is free to repeat the same course year in and year out; some professors are famous for their ability to present the elements of a subject in what is known as 'Systematic Courses,' that is, what would be called, in America, courses which follow a definite outline of topics rather than discuss them from an historical or an exegetic point of view.

In general, the professors seem to hold to a mean between what particularly interests them in research and what is important, either for the State examinations or for the training of scholars. It is in the seminars that the method of scholarship is taught, rather than in the lectures. In fact, the German professor is, in general, an indifferent lecturer. What Germany most definitely needs in this respect is an improvement in the simple technique of oral presentation, and here, perhaps, reforms might be urged without seeming presumption. Nearly all professors talk too fast and give far too much in each individual lecture. They are apt to slur over bibliographical facts and names. Some of them go so far as to write the names on the board, continuing all the while to lecture with their backs to students, who can then catch but little of what is said. The material itself may be excellent, but it is too often spoiled in the presentation. In the twenty-odd years between my student days and the

present, there seems to have been no general improvement. There are some striking exceptions in every institution, but it would be invidious to name them.¹ An interesting commentary is found in Strümpell's autobiography. Speaking of Weigert he says, 'He was always too much occupied with his own thoughts and theories, nor did he rightly possess the ability to present elementary things clearly, simply and in an orderly fashion, a lack which is not seldom found in the case of one type of otherwise excellent scholar.'

It must be pointed out that the pedagogical ideal which not merely allows the great scholar the privilege of teaching, but which sends the students in flocks to listen to a man primarily because of his learning, yet which is indifferent to the method of presentation, has its perfect justification. It works well in Germany, just as it worked, though in a somewhat different way, in China. The ideal of a detailed methodology belongs actually to the secondary school. The advanced students should be able to grasp the subject-matter however presented. But in talks with students from all sorts of departments, it developed that the system brings with it the waste of considerable time. Many advanced students assured me that they had been completely at sea for two or three semesters. This seems a very high price to pay for the method or lack of method; even if this time limit be discounted, it is quite evident that the break between secondary school and university is too

¹ *Aus dem Leben eines deutschen Klinikers*, page 146.

abrupt. The German system is based upon the assumption of mature students in an old and highly developed civilization. The assumption is justified, but not to the extent to which it is carried out in practical application. The realization of some lack in the system has brought with it the development of the already mentioned *Uebungen*, parallel to the main course of lectures, and which are obligatory on candidates for the degree in that department. In some of these courses the formulæ given in the main lectures are applied to problems; others are what the French would call '*Explications des textes*'; others, again, are straight-away 'recitation courses' with translation, declension, and grammatical rules. The *Uebungen* which came under my notice varied greatly. Some were very much over-crowded; others were language courses in which texts were microscopically examined, but in which the living language was not really taught, though from the catalogue announcement this might have been expected. Others were excellent drill courses in their respective fields.

Not only is the professor a great scholar, but he is often really a great and beloved teacher. His pedagogical method rests upon different assumptions from those in America and is justified by a long historical sequence and experience. It is only in the form of presentation that changes might well be instituted. There is no necessity for feeling that the liaison between secondary school and university should be so close that it is impossible to tell where one begins and

the other leaves off. The case is not analogous to the connection between high school and college in America, especially in such cases where the State University in America exercises immediate personal and monopolistic control.

The professor's statements *ex cathedra* come to be regarded as of far more importance than equal statements are regarded in America. At the same time, his scholarship and his position preserve him from the wanton sensationalism of the yellow press. The whole weight of German public opinion and the continuity of the scholastic tradition are behind him, backing him up in his pedagogical activities, though this protected position has, to a certain extent, hampered the development of a straight teaching method. Some years ago there was talk of a society for the improvement of university teaching methods, but it seems never to have developed into anything important. A good many of the general lectures and some of the introductory courses are far too abstruse for the beginner. The forty-five-minute period is also rather short, and the semesters in the German universities might be well extended by a week or two at each end.

The lecture method implies an attitude of less responsibility toward the progress of the individual student than that to which we are accustomed in America. It is very doubtful if the average general student, even in Germany, is able to gain as much from lectures as is taken for granted. The great failure of the method is that it puts the student in the attitude

of being talked at rather than of actively taking part in the educational processes through which he is supposed to be going.

There is another defect in the system, in that it lays the primary emphases on scholarship, whereas the university has a practical monopoly of the preparation of the candidates for official positions. This throws too great a responsibility on the student for getting himself ready for his life-work. Naturally, the student 'learns the ropes' and there are certain definite lines of procedure which are handed down from generation to generation of students; thus, in general, especially in the more specifically literary and social sciences, there are a good many loose ends, and the waste motion on the part of a student, who is compelled to work largely by the trial-and-error method, is very considerable. It is not an especially good sign that the bookshops in university centers are filled with handbooks of the vocational guidance type, with titles like 'How to Study' this and that, and why to study it. Even if these books are written by members of university faculties, they are, at best, mere surrogates for personal contact, with resultant clarification both of guidance into the profession and the methodology of the learner. The complete freedom of the professor may very likely keep him from completely envisaging the student problem as a whole, though in cases of individual students who come close to him he may see it very clearly. The fact is that the fault lies with the system rather than

with the individual professor. The machinery has gone on for so long that its automatic functioning is taken for granted, and the university faculties seldom come four-square with the problem. In medicine, in the exact sciences, and in engineering, great advances have been made in this respect, but in many other branches the freedom of the professor seems to me to be won at the expense of the student. In many American institutions the freedom of the student and the care for his career is gained at the expense of the scholarship of the professor. There surely must be a happy medium.

Yet, if one must choose between the two systems, the German system is to be preferred. The German university is, first and last, a scholarly institution. The atmosphere at the University of Leipzig is not the rarefied air either of mere book-learning or of a futile search for trivial minutiae. There is an atmosphere of substantial, solid work, an earnestness and an enthusiasm which are both refreshing and stimulating. The universities vary in this; some have the reputation of being distinctly 'working universities;' others have a traditional atmosphere of good-fellowship and of student life, rather than of serious study. Students who have been for several semesters at a given institution are always sure that the standards for admission into the *Institut* of their particular department is higher than that of the other universities, near and far. This sounds suspiciously like the local patriotism one hears in America. I remember with

considerable amusement the earnestness of a young girl student who tried to prove to me how much harder an *Institut* was to get into at Jena than the *Institut* of the same department at Leipzig.

† The freedom of the university professor is further assisted by the general decentralization of the university. The average university has four faculties: law, medicine, theology, and philosophy. Of these, the historically oldest is philosophy, which is generally considered to be the most important, though no social differences are observable, and professors from the faculties of law and medicine are, as in America, often economically better situated than their colleagues in the theological and the philosophical groups. This latter group includes every subject not taught elsewhere, from Ewe to Richard Wagner and from banking to mycology. Purely technical courses for engineers, for theologians, for lawyers and doctors, are not included, but, even with these latter left out, there is an astonishing range of courses. In the summer semester of the University of Berlin (1926) there were sixty-five courses given in the theological faculties, eighty-five in the faculty of law, three hundred and ninety-seven in medicine, and six hundred and three in the philosophical faculty. The wide range of interests naturally decentralized this faculty even more than the others; moreover, there is, for the students in this faculty, no such focus of attention as in the other three faculties, where the young men are preparing definitely to pass the State examinations for

physicians, pastors, or jurists. This makes the three latter faculties much more definitely professional faculties, with the professional and unified viewpoint, and tends to segregate their interests, not only one from the other, but also from the philosophical faculty as a whole. It never came to my attention that this segregation brought with it any particular inter-faculty rivalry or jealousy, but here, again, the point of view that the professor is a separate research unit plays an important part in the make-up of the whole university attitude of mind and prevents the outbreak of such unholy departmental wars, with their scramble for funds and for students, as have been witnessed at times in America. It is extremely fortunate that in Germany the entire technical education is handled by the technical universities; departments of engineering are unknown in the regular old-line institutions. This eliminates the 'practical' point of view and the type of professor whose services as an expert consultant are extremely highly paid and who regards with contempt those who have no outside sources of income. It also eliminates from the university budget the necessity of financing the extremely expensive equipment of such a department as engineering, and there are no heart-burnings because the library appropriation for Sanskrit had to be devoted to a metallurgical furnace. In every way, then, the decentralization works to the mutual advantage of all classes among the faculty, and has its natural reaction in the attitude of the faculty toward the students.

It would probably be better if the decentralization stopped here. It is carried on to buildings and the whole idea of the university. There is, of course, a central place at which the students register and pay their fees and there is a central administration. There is also an information bureau where one *can* get information. The economic necessities of post-war Germany have forced the students to pool their interests on rooms, means of support, and other similar problems. For the new professor, however, there is absolutely no one center where he may obtain information as to his rights, privileges, and duties. The system takes for granted that every one knows the ropes, and no one ever contemplates the inclusion in the system of an ignorant outsider. Berlin is somewhat better off than the other institutions, in that there is an institute for foreigners and an *Amerika-Institut*, both of which can be very helpful, but even there, one may spend days of fruitless running about if one is not in touch with the proper people.

The decentralization of library facilities is not unknown in America. Columbia and Illinois both illustrate this point, though neither regards decentralization in this respect as a desideratum. But in the German university library, decentralization in the form of seminary or institute libraries is completely the order of the day. Again, the point is clear that it is around the individual and his research that the institution grows. The specialist gathers about him a group of students and younger professors who are

interested in one definite set of problems; for them, books are collected in one place, where they may work uninterruptedly and intensively in their special field. Other students do not have easy access to these libraries; indeed, they do not find it necessary to work in them. Only when one is working across several fields does one find the system hampering. Many students never enter the general university library, and I feel sure that the majority of the professors have no occasion ever to go near it, either because of their own excellent private libraries or because their institute meets their needs. In Leipzig, some professors thought it funny when I asked them about the university library. This building is placed fully three quarters of a mile from the main administrative group, which would seem an extremely inconvenient place for the building were it not for the fact that it is proportionately less used than the equivalent building would be in America. It should be admitted, however, that under the present efficient administration there is a daily auto-delivery of books from the main library to the students' reading-room in the central group of buildings, but even with this the decentralization is very great.

The institutes of chemistry, physics, etc., are also scattered, and it strikes one as somewhat amusing to find a German, politely critical of the suburbanism of an American or a Chinese university, alleging that the German university is always found in the heart of a center of population. In such cities as Berlin, Leip-

zig, and Frankfort, the institutes are scattered all over the city. It is an actual fact that at the University of Frankfort nobody was able to tell me where the Chinese Department was located, till finally some one looked up the address in the directory and discovered that it was several kilometers from the main buildings.

The great historian Lamprecht had a scheme for removing the University of Leipzig, which is situated in the heart of the city in extremely crowded and uncomfortable quarters, to a place outside, where the entire institution could be housed in a uniform and adequate set of modern buildings. It is quite possible that the scheme also included better housing for students and professors; at any rate, it was an attempt to centralize and unite the whole institution on one campus, and to bring about in this way a certain spiritual as well as physical unity. It is not advisable to say 'harmony' because, in general, in spite of decentralization, there is great harmony, due to the fact that each professor feels himself in accord with his fellows through his ability to work as an individual. Perhaps 'unison' would be a proper term. Lamprecht's scheme never got any farther than the organization of the 'Lamprecht Institute,' which is an attempt to unite such groups as history, sociology, and the history of civilization into one whole. This '*Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte*' has, housed within its walls, the departments of history, sociology, Chinese, and Japanese, and perhaps some

others, in an attempt to broaden the scope and vision of these groups and to unify them. However, the German tendency toward decentralization is constantly at work and even this unification threatens to fall to pieces.

Lamprecht's scheme was once discussed, in my presence, at a dinner party, by widely divergent types of professors. There was, however, common agreement that the realization of such a scheme would destroy the peculiar flavor of the Leipzig tradition. How this was to come about was not made clear, but it was definitely felt that to transfer the university to one single location would be to 'Americanize' it, and that such a scheme would be to turn it into an 'educational factory.' The fact that the university is hampered for space, that the crowding of some of the institutes is notorious, that the university cannot possibly buy any land where it now is, and that to buy buildings in the vicinity means having extremely ill-adapted quarters, was seemingly of no consequence. So, when the exigencies of the Leipzig Fair compelled the Grassi Museum to sell its present building and to move to larger and better quarters, the best it could do was to go about a mile from the university in another direction, and thus to do nothing toward centralizing or making more propinquitous its splendid treasures. Compromises of this sort have constantly to be made, with the result that the various laboratories lie scattered all over the city. But, in Germany, such a sprinkling of a uni-

versity over a whole city does not seem to wear on the nerves as it would in America.

The criticisms of Lamprecht's scheme really amount to this: the university fears that too great centralization will destroy the present fluidity of the entire university atmosphere. There is a most interesting antinomianism to be observed at this point. The university is an extremely fluid and flexible unit in a remarkably bureaucratized State, of which bureaucracy it is, in the preparation for certain careers, a rigid part. But its position as a separate corporate body, not operating, as do American universities, under State charter, but more or less parallel with the State, makes all the difference in the world in its entire attitude toward its problems. Its flexibility is not only of the spirit, but actually of the organization, and is far greater than that found in bureaucratic Japan, or in China, both of which countries have learned, in this respect, to imitate some of the worst elements of the American system.

The maintenance of this fluidity is really extremely simple, and rests primarily, and perhaps solely, upon the possibility of directness of personal contacts between teacher and student. The university machinery is always in the background: it has its own competency, but it does not intrude itself into the personal relations of students and teacher. This is due to the fact that the university progresses by subjects rather than by courses, with the result that the entire elaborateness of the Registrar's Office (to cite

but one example) disappears completely. The examinations are held only at the end of the student's entire career; the culmination of his studies takes place at a time set, in a measure, by himself, though there are naturally minima determined for the degree and for the State examinations; but the rounding-out of the academic career is left to the individual, who may leave the institution without a degree, without stigma to himself. Indeed, many who cannot afford the luxury of the doctorate take the State examinations. Remme remarks: 'University study in Germany differs from that in many other countries, in that there are no definitely required programmes of study, no fixed yearly courses with a final examination, and promotion into a higher course. Each student chooses from the catalogue the lectures and *Uebungen* which suit his needs and his inclinations. The *Uebungen*, above all, serve to bring him into personal contact with his teachers. . . . The freedom of the student has a certain limit through the fact that he must prepare for the examinations. The road to these in the cultural subjects is through seminars of various grades; in the natural sciences, medicine, and technology, through institutes of various kinds.' ¹

There has been observed in the period since the

¹ Remme, *op. cit.*, page 22. Further details on page 107.

From this it will be seen that the term 'institute' covers two American ideas: that of the chemical and other laboratory, with the courses given there and that of the seminar room. One is definitely admitted to an institute through payment of a fee, and to the courses given there by a separate test.

war a certain further limit upon the flexibility of the university, especially from the student's standpoint, and entirely due to economic conditions. Many professors complain that the students do not elect courses for purely cultural reasons; that they choose rigidly those subjects which push them toward the examination; that they 'hear' only those professors who sit on the various examining commissions. The second point of limitation, due to the same causes, is in the famous *Zugfreiheit*; that is, the freedom of movement from place to place, which is so characteristic a phase of the German system. The high cost of traveling and of moving, coupled with crowded housing conditions, tends, so it is alleged, to hold the students more closely to one university. The ebb and flow of economic opportunity has also had its effect. In some universities the departments of theology were reported to be seriously handicapped by lack of students. Whether or not this arose from the same general causes which drive young men away from the ministerial profession in America was not clear, but it is evident that the drift in Germany is also in other directions. It is interesting, at the same time, to observe what is going on, according to many reports, in the medical faculties. During and just after the war there was naturally a strong drift toward medicine, so that a plethora of doctors ensued. The overcrowding was soon felt, when, naturally, a reaction set in, so that for a while it seemed as if the medical profession were also to be depleted. From a cursory

examination of the statistics of enrollment in several medical faculties, I gathered that any crises that there may have been had passed. All agreed that the drift away from both theology and medicine in the direction of the political and social sciences had definitely begun. It is also characteristic and significant that the drift seems to be away from the universities to the technical schools, which at present are in a most flourishing state. It is also worthy of note that in these tendencies Germany is in line with the rest of the world, including China and Japan, where the preoccupation of the students with natural and political science amounts almost to an abnormality, especially in China, where the product does not find ready application.

According to the Prussian official figures for universities in Prussia, the number of students at the universities has remained proportionately stationary, whereas the number of students at the technical schools has risen rapidly; leaving out Danzig, which is no longer in German territory, the total number has risen from 3771 in 1911-12 to 8519 (1924-25), of whom only eighty-four were women. These figures do not count auditors. For the non-Prussian schools, the figures are 6930 for 1911-12, 13,648 for 1924-25 of whom 230 were women. Danzig rose from 630 in 1911-12 to 1522 in 1924-25. The largest technical school was Munich, with 4415 students; the next, Berlin, with 4173; the smallest, Breslau, which is still in the building, with not quite 1000. The stream of

foreigners which had flowed steadily toward the technical schools began to slacken by the summer of 1926. In all articles dealing with the problem of the technical schools, doubts were felt as to the capability of the German industries to absorb the large quantity of technical graduates.

While, of course, tendencies such as those just mentioned have their effect upon the whole spirit of the university atmosphere, and will have a limiting effect upon the expansion along certain lines, they do not make themselves at once felt in the curtailment of already existing chairs, foundations, or teaching positions in general. There have been plenty of instances in American university history where the expansion of the engineering or similar departments which require a very large upkeep has resulted in immediate loss to the so-called 'cultural' subjects. Such injustice is not possible in Germany, because the individual professor, being, as has been said, a research unit, can continue, whether he has five students or five hundred. Under the surface, most surely, adjustments and compromises are made. But the large outlines of university polity make it impossible to eliminate a 'cultural' professor in order to make room, for example, for an agricultural one. In fact, the tendency to foster research is carried to such a degree that a professor may be granted a whole semester off on full salary in order to finish a given piece of work. The professor and his salary seemed to be regarded as more or less of a unit, so that, when a professor

takes a trip of investigation or is invited out of the country on a lecture tour, his salary goes with him. As, in many cases, his courses are no part of a rigid scheme of 'requirements,' his absence is felt mainly by the group with which he is working in intimate contact in his seminar; thus, his going or coming is more or less a matter of his personal freedom, though his leave of absence is naturally referred to the proper instances, who have it entirely within their power to refuse it. If they should refuse it, it will naturally be on grounds of expediency, though, in general, in such cases as came under my observation, leaves of absence were very readily granted, in order that German scholarship might be promoted thereby. When a fortunate professor found it possible to get away to Egypt, China, or America, his colleagues sighed a sigh of envy, but willingly granted him permission to develop himself in one of those distant Arcadias.

The professor is conditioned in his freedom by the social group with which he feels it incumbent upon himself to associate. Here he slips into the somewhat rigid lines of demarcation which characterize German society. At a certain professor's party, we met a colleague's wife who remarked with some astonishment that she had heard our names mentioned at a party given in commercial circles with which she happened to be related and she wondered how we had got in touch with the commercial group. It seemed strange to her, a professor's wife, though she herself

came from commercial circles, that professors should be in touch with any but professorial and official classes. We found that her attitude was by no means uncommon. This is significant, because the professorial class has *entrée* anywhere, through the respect shown it; it really enjoys a favored social position.

What is especially pleasing about the German professorial group is its high level of general education. There are a few exceptions; sometimes there is a *naïveté* in the questions asked about the United States which indicates that the influence of Cooper has not yet lapsed, but the German professor, as a whole, is a striking tribute to the thoroughness of German secondary education. Even in such departments as veterinary medicine and practical agriculture, one finds few 'rough-necks.' One has only to run over, in one's mind's eye, some of the worthy specimens of that type in the departments in some of our American universities, to see how the attainment of professional skill of a high order has nothing to do with the graces either of social intercourse, polite letters, correct speech, or intelligent conversation. If it could be said of some such American that he was 'ignorant of all languages, including English,' it might be said of practically every German scientist that he knows several languages including the classical. The preparation for a professorship is thorough. There is nothing that suggests that the course leads directly from the barn to the lecture platform.

The respect shown to the professor is on a par with

the freedom enjoyed by him. This respect is perfectly natural, considering the part played by the university in the inner functioning of the German intellectual system — it is never under any circumstances negligible, nor does it allow itself to be neglected — and it also shows that the university professor does not abuse his freedom. Germany and China, and perhaps Japan, are the only countries in which education, in the person of the professor, receives the whole-hearted support and admiration of the entire community. As far as my own experience went, there was nobody, from the servant-girl to the State official, who was not ready to do everything in his or her power to ease the situation for the university professor. If a passport official was disposed to be officious at first, the production of a visiting card made a complete change in attitude. Then one was brought behind the counter, offered a chair, and the difficulties disappeared at once. People in Germany take it for granted that the work done by a professor is real work. They expect him to have leisure and freedom to do that work and they respect him for his ability to perform it; in return, the German professor feels himself dedicated to a high ideal of productive scholarship. He probably thinks himself, in general, a somewhat better *teacher* than he actually is, but in his innermost heart he has an earnestness of attitude toward his teaching and a desire to be a great teacher that neutralize a great many deficiencies in the traditional pedagogical method.

The economic and professional solidarity of the university group is maintained through a central organization of all the universities. This organization, Der Verband deutscher Hochschulen, has very definite practical ends, one of which is indicated by a small pamphlet issued by its economic committee.¹ This little document is of supreme interest, first, because it shows the economic necessities of the heavily taxed professorial class, and, second, because it shows, between the lines, that the Government makes every attempt within its power to alleviate the burden of taxation on this group. Professorial incomes are taxed ten per cent on the first three thousand marks, the next two thousand are taxed fifteen per cent, the next five thousand, twenty-five per cent, and beyond that, thirty per cent. From this there are certain deductions for a family and certain further deductions, the *Werbungskosten*, which include, for the professorial class, the rent, heat, light, and the cleaning of the study and library, purchases of books and magazines, wear and tear on a typewriter, writing materials and postage, professional use of the telephone, contributions to learned societies, trips taken for the purpose of scientific investigation, especially trips to scientific society meetings, travel to and from the university, and extra expenses for clothing used professionally.

¹ Merkblatt — über die steuerlichen Verpflichtungen der Hochschullehrer. Im Auftrage des Wirtschaftsausschusses des Verbandes Deutscher Hochschulen zusammengestellt von Professor Dr. Albert Hensel. Bonn, 1925.

This elaborate list, with its meticulous attention to so many minutiae, has a certain pitiful side, for when the whole has been reckoned, the entire sum amounts only to a maximum of two hundred and fifteen marks and a minimum of only one hundred and ten marks monthly, to be deducted from the gross taxable income. It is an indication of how closely the German professor is compelled to reckon his finances. The comment under various heads is extremely illuminating. For instance, under car fare, the report says: 'We consider this item the only one which is not undisputed for all university cities. For large centers, we believe that we may reckon a lump sum of fifteen marks.' Under books and magazines, the report stresses the fact that technical books soon grow out of date and that a so-called 'valuable library,' the original cost of which was fifteen to twenty thousand marks, soon gets out of date. The professor is therefore recommended to claim a maximum of forty marks a month for the upkeep of his library. For the heating of a room, twenty marks a month is the maximum to be considered. It is obvious from all this that the professorial group is trying, by all legitimate means, to reduce its tax burden. The State exempts from the 'turn-over' tax or, as we should say, from the tax on net profits, 'Private scholars, artists, and authors, in so far as their taxable profits in any given year do not exceed six thousand marks.' University professors find themselves able to take advantage of this law, for such income as is derived from lectures, royalties,

and general literary labor has been judged to be within its provisions.¹

As long as Germany retains its present attitude toward the university and toward the supporters of the university ideal, and as long as the universities are filled with the magnificent spirit which at present characterizes them, in spite of any minor details which may detract from the perfection of the whole, the world cannot get along without Germany. We may still agree with Huxley that in this Germany has something to teach the other nations. What is more, as long as this solidarity of intellectual vigor vitalizes and renews the spirit of Germany, it will have to be reckoned with as a fundamental intellectual force. There is something about the freshness of the point of view of productive scholarship, even in the driest of dry subjects, that gives an absolutely unique tone to the atmosphere of a German university. Whatever conservatism and conventionality there may

¹ It may be interesting to quote a personal experience. My tax was set at five hundred marks; when I pointed out the size of my family, it was reduced to three hundred and fifty without question. When I still demurred, the university treasurer who (as has been pointed out) is a State official, asked how much I was willing to pay, to which, of course, there was only one answer. He advised me to consult the authorities in Dresden when I went there. A short interview with the finance department in the capital soon revealed the fact that there are more ways of killing a cat than by choking it to death with cream. The very ingenious and thoroughly delightful gentleman who went over the situation with me found that I had, as a foreigner in Germany, so many extra and unusual expenses that my tax bill finally was computed at sixty-five marks! He apologetically said that he did not see how it could be further reduced. This may have been special courtesy to the foreigner, but I am inclined to think that a good deal of it rests upon the general assumption of trying to assist the professor.

be, either in pedagogical or political thinking, is of small moment in comparison to the importance of productive scholarship. As a mere matter of self-interest, it would pay the rest of the world to subsidize the German universities whenever they needed funds, because, out of the intense intellectual activity of these institutions, in spite of poverty and other setbacks, will arise a constant flux of new ideas, of new facts, and of significant theories which cannot help but further human progress.

It may be urged that the university does not 'go to the people,' as does the American university. This is quite true; one never finds the universities of Germany vying with Pelmanism, the Book of Etiquette, and the Little Blue Books for the back pages of the magazines, but, if home study and extension courses are not developed, there are popular university courses, the *Volkshochschule* courses, which fill the needs of the Germans in this respect. The difference is that, as the degree of the university means only one thing, and as there is only one degree, there can be no scramble for credits to be amassed in any fashion to obtain academic and social recognition by means of some magic letters behind one's name.

CHAPTER V

THE STUDENT AND HIS PROBLEMS

THE most interesting phenomenon in German student life to-day is the fact that the German student's position in the university is guaranteed by law. He is, through ministerial rescript, a legal member of the university body. He *must* organize into a group, and membership in the group is compulsory for all native-born German citizens and optional for overseas Germans studying in Germany. Thus, he is, in his group — the *Studentenschaft* — a definite member of the academic community, with powers, rights, and privileges. As he is forced by law to organize, so the body which he is forced to join has the right, by law, to tax him for its maintenance. This is so fundamental a fact, and recognizes so clearly the principle of student government and student responsibility, that, when its range becomes known, it is sure to have a very decided effect in influencing student opinion in other parts of the world, especially in the Orient. It is an interesting swerving around the circle with, of course, great changes in every way, to the mediæval notion of the student. The mediæval student lived in his *Nation*, which was a small political group within the whole *Universitas*. Out of this, the college system in England and the fraternity system in Germany were both developed by different processes.

What is particularly interesting, however, about

this significant guarantee to the students is that, during our entire stay in Germany, it was never once mentioned in conversation by any one with whom university affairs were discussed, and had it not been so widely discussed in student publications, I might never have heard of it! It is either a fact of no importance to those in control, or it is a fact which, being fundamental, is taken for granted; or, since the university is still decentralized (from the American point of view, at least), the inclusion into its fluid system of a new member does not hamper its progress or even disturb its equilibrium. It is possible that the legal fact is a mere recognition of conditions which were in existence, and which have merely been crystallized into a formula.

That the scheme was not working to the full satisfaction of everybody was apparent from the tone of criticism in the various student publications. Some articles implied that there was danger of the whole idea being wrecked; others pointed out the serious difficulties which the organization had to encounter in its fight for existence. The main objection seemed to be that the students were unaware of the importance of student self-government in relation to the whole problem of the organization. By law, the students have the right to be heard in such important questions as those of athletics, fees, examination standards, and economic welfare. When one considers the sharp cleavage between the secondary school and the university, with the cloistered im-

practicability and lack of touch with life's immediate problems in the secondary school, it is no wonder that the new burden of responsibility for self-administration falls very heavily upon the university student. Such administrative details offer him an excellent schooling in practical administrative matters, but they are not prepared for by a gradual acquaintanceship in the preparatory years. It will probably be better to extend the system downward, making all due consideration for the difficulties involved in introducing any real freedom into the secondary schools. That the students themselves take the whole question of their organization very seriously is apparent on every hand. The tone of their publications and of their proclamations is dignified, earnest, and, at times, tremendously self-important. But self-importance has fully as good a right to exist where the circle of ideals is national in scope as where it centers around such a question as to whether freshmen should wear green caps or whether athletic relations with a neighboring institution should be broken off.

There are certain very definite factors which limit and condition the activities of the German student organization and its circle of ideas. Perhaps the most striking of these conditioning factors to the outside observer is the general bitterness of party politics in Germany, with the definite attempt on the part of the political parties, not merely to influence German student opinion, but also to control its very organiza-

tion. In surveys of the history of the organization, it was pointed out that such attempts had finally to fail, but it is obvious that the German students are far more split up into groups which depend upon a political affiliation or a political point of view than are the students either in America or China. These centrifugal forces further the decentralization of the university and tend to determine the tone in which the deliberations are carried on — a tone which at times leaves much to be desired in the way of objectivity and tact.

It is said that the majority of German students lean toward the Right-Wing parties. Such incidents as that which occurred, on the occasion of the celebration of the founding of the Republic, at the Technical University at Karlsruhe, seem to indicate an advanced state of political recalcitrancy. According to the account (in a Left-Wing paper), the entire student body, with the exception of one Catholic organization, remained away from the celebration. In the case of an extreme pacifist *Dozent* at the University of Heidelberg, the entire student body petitioned that his right to teach be withdrawn. It is an interesting commentary on the whole question of academic freedom, that the philosophical faculty of the university refused to take this step, even though they were completely out of sympathy with the teacher in question, both on account of his personality, his lack of tact, his political opinions, and his inability to understand his public responsibilities

with relation to the University. Although they felt exactly the same as did the students, they were able, in this instance, to separate the scientist from the citizen — and colleague — and to leave to the scientist his *venia legendi*. In this they showed themselves distinctly broader in mind than the student body, which would have eliminated the scientist because of his utterances before the public on political matters.

The student elections are fought out with no greater bitterness than those in America. There is some friction between the so-called 'corporations' or fraternities, and the 'free' students. It is quite possible that combinations and *blocs* are formed, but it is doubtful whether there is any greater chicane anywhere than the intrigue in class and student politics in America. This difference may also be observed: the German student alignment is political and ideational, whereas, in America, it is for the honor of the fraternity, a distinctly less mature point of view.

The second conditioning factor in determining the activities of the student organization is the decentralization of student life. Whereas the mediæval students in Germany lived in dormitories, the modern student has always lived, with a few trifling exceptions, in rented rooms. One of the advantages of out-living is the complete independence from parietal control, with the attendant disadvantages of loneliness, separatism, and lack of communal spirit. The

necessities of the post-war situation have brought about, as will be explained below, the necessity for eating in large groups; with this there has come, in one or two institutions, the beginning of a very meager dormitory life. In the main, the students are still physically scattered, so that the attempt to unite them, to give them a common directive purpose, must come through some galvanizing idea. The German governing bodies have learned, or are learning, from England and America that athletics furnish such a directive stimulus. The students are attempting to coöperate in this matter, first of all. There is also a development of what are called '*Fachschaften*,' the nearest expression for which in English is probably, 'Departmental Clubs.' Here the directing purpose is a unity of professional, or, better, scientific interests. There is, in the student publications, considerable evidence, also, that the influence of the English university debating clubs is felt in some of these organizations. There is apparently an attempt to open a public forum for the ideas of like-minded groups. The seriousness with which some of their proceedings are discussed indicates that they are very definitely a stimulus to the students.

A third determining factor in the moulding of the students' attitude is the fact that they have been cut off for a good many years from the outside world. One of the questions which was constantly asked us, both before and after a brief trip to Paris, was, 'Do you think that the Germans would be well treated

there?’ or, ‘Were the Germans well treated?’ In other words, the German student still feels himself, to a certain extent, an outcast; he reads in the papers of the violent anti-German demonstrations in Belgium when Germany was admitted to the League of Nations, he has heard of the propaganda against Germany in Italy, and has heard his country called very hard names, so that, even long after the war is over, he suffers from a feeling of isolation, an isolation which leads, in some cases, distinctly to an inferiority complex. This isolation also works counter to one of the strongest impulses in the German student *psyche*, namely, the desire to travel. It must be remembered that Germany is a small country, with none too excellent a climate, and that the glittering, fascinating civilizations of France and Italy lie but a short distance away, forever calling, as something strangely exotic to the German mind. If one remembers how difficult it is for the German student, under present economic conditions, to find means for travel, it will be understood why travel arrangements form an important element in German student activities. There is an international union for the exchange of students with foreign countries. In 1925, sixteen Germans went to the United States and nine Americans came to Germany. In the same year, the Department of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University had fourteen students, three of whom were Germans. These facts were emphasized in reports, because they showed the Germans the possibilities of an

expansion of their horizon by travel, and were regarded as hopeful signs of a better future.

Another very important conditioning factor in German student activity is that, thinking nationally as they do, they feel keenly the loss of territory through the compact of Versailles. Naturally, this loss affects them, being students, less immediately as an economic or even as a social problem, than it does as a sentimental or cultural one. In 1925, the one thousandth anniversary celebrations of the Rhine region occurred. The German students hoped to hold their big meeting in one of the Rhenish universities, namely, at Bonn, but the inter-allied commission refused to allow the meeting to take place in that city. The following manifest was then issued by the students: 'For a thousand years the Rhineland was, as our western boundary, a sanctuary of German culture. The German student body intended to evince its fidelity to the Rhenish marches by holding its annual meeting in the occupied territory in Bonn. They wished, through a sitting in one of the oppressed Rhenish universities, to express their thanks to the brothers in the occupied Rhineland for their unselfish devotion to duty. Refusal . . . has made this impossible. The German student body yields to this force. It feels itself all the more firmly united with its Rhenish fellow students and expresses the hope that it will soon be possible to hold a German students' day on the free Rhine.' It is, however, in Czecho-Slovakia that the German students are more vitally

interested in *Grenzlandarbeit*; that is, in work along the cultural frontier. Every effort is being made to assist the Germans in Czecho-Slovakia to maintain themselves as Germans, in spite of the vigorous, bitter, and tyrannical programme of Czechification carried on in such places as Prague and Brünn. In fact, it was advocated that the University of Prague, founded in 1348, and therefore the oldest German university, should, by hook or crook, be got out of the city into some place away from the strong Slavonic influence. All sorts of statistics, appeals, and summonses were issued, to show the necessity of assisting the Sudetic Germans, and the question was taken very seriously, as appertaining to the curtailment of the German national entity. Up to the time of my leaving Germany, I saw no evidence of an attempt to assist the Germans in South Tirol against Mussolini's campaign of Italianization, but there is no doubt that the students are ready to take a hand to preserve the traditional fatherland of one of their greatest poets, Walter von der Vogelweide, from falling under the domination of Italy.

The final and most important determining factor in the circle of student activities is the economic condition of the German student body. Perhaps the greatest difference between the German students of to-day and the students of other nations, even including the Chinese, is their economic level. The inflation ruined the German middle classes, from which the student body largely draws, and the result has

been a complete overturning of the economic life of this class, with all that such a *bouleversement* implies in social and intellectual activities. While it has not served to break the independent spirit of the German student body, it has shaken that spirit deeply and has toned it down to a far less colorful mode of self-expression than before the war. Common necessity has driven the students together; common poverty has forced them to unite, not merely for the purposes of study, travel, and social amusement, but for the very means of subsistence. In the worst period, the German students worked their way through college, quite in the manner of the American college boy or girl. In the main, this experience did no one any harm, but it was rightly felt by the Germans to be a drastic provisional measure which should be eliminated as soon as possible. It was felt that the students' first business is to study, that outside work, carried on, as it had to be in the worst years of poverty, was a deterrent to the serious business of getting an education. Those Germans who had had any contact with the system in America, saw the danger to Germany from an extension of it to their own country. It was feared that work for its own sake would take the place of study and become a too engrossing activity. But its democratizing advantages have been felt.

It was, however, absolutely impossible to eliminate the poverty of the students. With the stabilization of the currency, the worst feature of their economic

situation — that is, the maddening uncertainty — was over, but there remained so much charitable work to be done that systems of aid, introduced as temporary measures, have continued to the present day. In the working-out of these systems, the students themselves play a great part.

Perhaps the most striking change in student-life in Germany is that which is brought about by the student kitchens. It used to be the custom for the German student to eat in a restaurant, either by himself, or with a small friendly group at a reserved table — a so-called '*Stammtisch*' — or with a group of his fraternity brothers, either in the fraternity house or in the restaurant. During the worst period, just after the war, when neither money nor food was procurable, the authorities were forced to find some means of keeping the students alive. In some places it was possible to use the field kitchens left over from the war, and upon this basis began the development of the *mensa academica* in the various universities. In these the students are fed *en masse*; the food is purchased in quantities and is sold at cost, so that there are in all universities at the present time student dining-halls or 'Commons,' such as are entirely familiar to Americans. These dining-halls furnish the two principal meals of the day; the Continental breakfast, which is a negligible affair, is eaten in the room, and is frequently included in the rent. Indeed, it is often the practice of students to eat only one meal in the *mensa* and to fend for themselves for that

very sketchy supper which is so characteristic of the German gastronomic imagination. As the institution of the *mensa* runs counter to the principle of small groups and independence of action, such students as can possibly afford it eat elsewhere when they can, and use the *mensa* as a place to fill themselves up now and again with large quantities of very plain but substantial and nourishing food. In Leipzig, for example, the meat is measured out very carefully and only one helping is allowed (fifteen grams), but the student may eat all the soup, bread, potatoes, and other vegetables he wishes. An eight days' subscription costs three marks, thirty-five pfennige or about eighty cents; single meals range from forty to fifty-five pfennige.

The *mensa* at the University of Leipzig is more or less in the hands of the students, but it owes a large measure of success to the unselfish devotion of Frau von Zimmern, the wife of one of the professors, ably assisted by Frau Meyer. It employs sixteen paid workers, but the waiters are volunteers, mostly students from the 'Youth Movement,' each of the seventy of whom assists three or four times a week, receiving nothing, not even free meals, in return. There were, in the University of Leipzig (1925-26), eight hundred fraternity students and three thousand eight hundred 'Barbs.' At the *mensa* about one fourth of the fraternity men eat; the rest of the twelve hundred meals go to the non-fraternity group, an interesting commentary on the financial status of

the fraternity students. However, it was remarked with satisfaction, after the induction of the new Rector at Leipzig in 1925, that the representatives of the fraternal organizations, who must remain standing throughout the whole lengthy ceremony, had, for the first time since the war, stood the strain without any cases of fainting from general weakness.

In the University of Heidelberg, the *mensa* is State-aided; formerly there were student waitresses — a very interesting innovation when one considers the status of the waiter in Germany — but these have been done away with, as the *mensa* is developing into something like a university ‘union.’¹ In Hamburg the *mensa* is in private hands, but evidently so thoroughly controlled that it works satisfactorily. From pictures of the *mensa* in Tübingen, it seems as if some sort of a cafeteria system is used; when the advantages of such a system were pointed out to those in charge at Leipzig, the suggestion was met with frank hostility, although it takes several hours and far more help, under the present system, to feed the whole number, with the further disadvantage that the food is frequently cold when served.²

The student kitchens are by no means the only organization for economic assistance within the student body. For example, in Leipzig, in the same

¹ In *Rosenmontag*, a character remarks, *à propos* of an officer who had disgraced himself, ‘Let him go to America. America always needs waiters.’

² For further details see F. H. Mitgau: *Die Studentenküchen. Ein Beispiel akademischer Notwehr*. Heidelberg, 1925.

building with the *mensa*, is the *Herberge*, where students may stay for periods not exceeding two weeks, while looking for or changing rooms. Students traveling through Leipzig may also be accommodated, but there are, in all, only twenty beds. These are rented at one mark for the first night, and 50 pfennige for the succeeding nights; this price includes, besides bedclothing, sugar and tea. There is also in Leipzig a student's house, accommodating ninety-two students at a rent of five marks a month, including light, heat, and in winter three hot baths a week, and the use of the gymnasium. There are sleeping-rooms accommodating from eight to twelve students, two studies, where silence must be observed, and living-rooms. Breakfast is furnished at six marks a month. It includes bread, marmalade, or margarine, and coffee, tea, or cocoa in rotation; the students make their own beds. These details are worth mentioning, first, because they show the scale of prices on which the German students are compelled to live at present, and, second, because they indicate the direction toward which German student communal life is tending.

The welfare organizations also provide loans to students. These loans are partially State loans. It became a matter of serious concern at Leipzig when the State signified its intention in 1925 of curtailing this aid. No student is given assistance till his third semester. It is felt that the need everywhere is so great that only those should be encouraged to study

who can float themselves for at least two semesters. No one is given full aid (which may amount to ninety marks monthly) until his last two semesters. Most of the students receive only fifty marks monthly and, at last reports, only fifty in all were receiving aid in Leipzig. There is, besides this, and run by students themselves, the individual aid (*Einzelfürsorge*), and the loan fund of the Leipzig student organization.

Other arrangements of a similar charitable or semi-charitable nature are a day home for women students which is open from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M., where women may study, do their own cooking, bathe and wash their hair (with free use of an electric dryer), sew, and read. There is also a home for women students, an office which undertakes to provide suitable rooms for students, and which gives advice in questions relating to rent. There are bureaus which assist those who wish to take walking trips, who wish to borrow musical notes, and there is an elaborate system of providing students with theater tickets at reduced prices; besides these, there are various bureaus which help students to get books. There is a course in book-binding and a barber shop with very reduced prices. The bureau for the loaning of bed-linen shows to what lengths some of the students have been driven by the economic crisis. There is an academic translation bureau which furnishes translators and interpreters; in Leipzig, during the Fair, these do an active business. The labor bureau provides tutors and typists. These activities are all within the realm of the economic.

They are a product of the grim necessity of times when a student, if forced to, can live, even in Leipzig, on fifty marks a month, though that never provides him with really enough to eat or with clothes to wear. With prices as high as they are everywhere in Germany, for clothes, food, and books, the problem of the student is indeed serious.¹ It is a most hopeful sign that the students are attempting to solve their problem themselves, that they have not been afraid to put their hands to the plough, that they have lost some of their theorizing, and have come nearer, not merely to everyday life, but to the common man, through their common economic distress. To some extent the stratification is broken down; yet it is strange that so many of the students cling to outworn political doctrines which, if held, are sure to lead them away from sympathy with the great farming and industrial classes.

The economic problem of the students is complicated by the fact that for a while there was a flood of students to the universities; this flood has now, more or less, passed into the younger ranks of official life and the professions, filling these very full, so that the professions have not entirely absorbed it. Though the crest of the wave has passed, there is no insatiable demand to fill. One reads a good many articles warn-

¹ During the registration period I received an urgent call from the university authorities: I had not fixed the fees for my lectures and the students hesitated to elect, fearing that, as an American, I would naturally expect extortionately high fees!

ing those who have not the 'stuff' (*Zeug*) not to study; women students are especially warned that studying is a strenuous business, both mentally and physically, and especially trying for girls, 'who, in general, expect too much from their university careers, and are apt to neglect their health for their work.' There were a good many complaints about the physical condition of the women students: they conceal their poverty, very easily slip into tuberculosis, and are in some cases most pitiable objects. They are much more difficult to reach by charitable organizations than are the men. Of course, in the case both of men and of women, the general law of supply and demand acts upon the number who study; but in Germany, as has been shown previously, the whole focussing of life tends toward study, and the pressure on all strata for a living is so great that it tends to break down the law in the economic struggle. Under these circumstances, it is surprising and at the same time pleasing to observe how the students maintain the independence of their thinking and how there is, within the student body, a movement toward coöperative union which strives to evaluate, not merely the individual, but the various social organizations into which student bodies everywhere tend to split. For positions in the student organization, the non-fraternity group urges the election of its candidates, not on the ground of the elimination of the fraternity interests, but with the feeling of equal rights of existence and equal justification of position.

Two manifestoes of the students are particularly interesting in showing what seems to be an extremely independent attitude, thoroughly praiseworthy in its point of view. Although it may be taken for granted that the majority of German students has neither the tradition nor inclination toward prohibition, they evidently take an extremely sane attitude toward the question and are ready to put the stamp of their disapproval upon an unscientific treatment of the subject, as the following resolution indicates. The resolution is signed by the officers of the Leipzig student body and is subscribed to by twelve other student groups, mainly groups with a definite religious nexus or a leaning toward more radical thought: 'The student body of the University of Leipzig has had brought to its attention an article by Privy Councilor Professor Dr. Bornhak on the universal danger of the anti-alcohol movement. . . . Without wishing to take a position for or against the anti-alcohol movement, the entire student body regards it as its duty to protest most decidedly against the above presentation. The student body of the University is against this article because in it the deep social necessities of the German people receive a treatment which seems to the student body incompatible with the objective and thorough methods of German scholarship. The student body cannot conceal its fear that the reputation of German scholarship is endangered by the unobjective point of view of the treatise. It expresses its regret that a German uni-

versity professor, whose duty it is to elevate German science, is the author of this article.' This is an extremely significant resolution to come from a group of German students in their official capacity as a student body.

The whole economic situation has brought with it a very natural desire on the part of these student groups for some hold upon the positions in the State for which their training fits them. In order to take advantage of such a natural desire, one group of student organizations made it its boast that, through its alumni members, or through the *fratres in urbe*, it was able to assure its members of better positions in the official and professional world. It seems to have used this bait in 'rushing' newcomers. The result was a public declaration, signed by no less than forty of the fraternities, most emphatically disapproving this method of procedure: 'The undersigned fraternities . . . refuse to take a stand in regard to the aims and the organization of the German-National Student Union. They have noticed with disgust the sentence, "as the possibility exists, in the case of fraternities, of getting good positions through the alumni, the German-National Students' Union possesses an alumni body, working with it, whose first principle it is to provide good jobs for the members of our union." This sentence expresses the idea that the alumni bodies are organizations for getting jobs for the members. It makes no difference to the undersigned fraternities whether the D.N.S. attributes to its

alumni body this determination of purpose. The undersigned, however, emphasize the fact that their aims and those of their alumni lie in entirely different fields and reject this point of view, absolutely, as not applying to them.' Such statements show that the German student body is still in possession of its ancient ideals, and that it is fit to go hand in hand with the young people of other lands, in whom the hope for the future must be placed. At a time when in Germany students are compelled by grim necessity to choose their studies too much for the sake of their bread-and-butter, and when teachers complain that, unless they are examiners, they have very few students, any rejection of the bread-and-butter point of view is welcome. The pronunciamento on prohibition is interesting also because it shows that the leaven, not of a callow humanitarianism, but of a real grasp of Germany's very serious economic situation, is present in the students' minds, and is coupled with the desire to see every subject treated scientifically. One cannot but be convinced that even those students who tend toward the extreme Right politically are thinking in terms of national upbuilding rather than, or, surely, as well as, of personal advantage. It was my impression from talking to students whom I should distinctly call monarchistic in attitude, that they sincerely felt that some other form of government and some other type of social organization would be both immediately better for Germany and more suited to her nature. Of bellicosity and swash-

buckling among the students whom I met, there was not a trace.

One of the elements in German student life which received very wide publicity a few years ago, was the so-called 'Youth Movement,' which was much touted in the journals for its piquancy. It was supposed to have degenerated into a movement of loose morals, coupled with various strange philosophical quirks, such as the substitution of Laotze's 'Tao Tê Ching,' for Heine's 'Book of Songs.' This movement seems to have faded completely into the background, to have been absorbed largely by the legalized obligatory student organizations, and to have settled down to work. Now and again, one saw groups of young people of both sexes, attired as only Germans feel it necessary to dress when starting out for a hike, passing through the cities. A *Rucksack* was on each back, a pair of hobnailed boots was hung outside, and the rough canvas clothes were usually the worse for wear. Such groups never seemed to be particularly light-hearted, jovial, or high-spirited on their peregrinations, but rather dogged and determined; on the other hand, when one lay awake at night in some of the smaller places, in the spring, one could hear the tramp of feet and the tinkling of a lute. Occasionally there would be a snatch of song to the accompaniment of that instrument which is only more over-rated than the ukulele. These young people, going from place to place, were the well-known *Wandervögel*, the 'migratory birds.' If the 'Youth movement' is

otherwise a very vital force, it is deeply submerged in the work-a-day world as a current, and the exotic, poetic, and extravagant forms of it such as appeared in the journal '*Vivos Voco*' a few years back have faded out.

To step on the lecture platform of a German university, and to look down into the upturned, anticipating faces gives one a distinct shock of surprise. One discovers, even before one learns to single out the individual from the mass, that one is confronted by the same type of audience that one meets the world over when lecturing to students. Whatever may have been one's preconceived notions, one learns by experience that there is the same rustle of anticipatory imagination, the same settling into attitudes of attention, either listless or detached, while subconsciously alert, or rigid in the expectation of the shock of the idea. The German student, like his confrère in other parts of the world, puts out tentacles of approach, is ready and eager for his teacher. As one becomes better acquainted with him, as he sits before one in the lecture-room, one sees how he splits off into groups; how he is some days less attentive, is some days more keen, and altogether exhibits the vagaries of the youthful audience anywhere. Perhaps he listens a little more carefully; his note-taking depends very largely upon the connection of the course of lectures with the possibility of his really needing them in the future. It was just as great a pleasure to face rooms full of German students as it is

to face students anywhere; the pleasure of unfolding a series of new ideas to a youthful group is not conditioned by nationality or by race differences. One group of my lectures was given in English, and it was a pleasure to me to see how pleased the students were when they caught a point which depended upon a somewhat more exact understanding of a foreign tongue. In this respect there are no differences between Chinese, Germans, and Americans. Education may be made somewhat of a joyous adventure, an exploration of new fields; certainly, in my experience, students seem to come expecting some such adventure in the sunlit realms of intellectual pioneering. In too many cases the student finds that the realm of his imagination has turned out to be a Gobi.

German students are just as much attracted to their professors as are other students. Those professors who meet their students freely, and from whom there seems to radiate that subtle type of personality which indicates the human teacher, seem to be getting enthusiastic reactions, even if those reactions were somewhat chastened by the punctilious customs of the German universities. There was the feeling in my mind all the time that the German students were trying to break through to a more personal attitude and relationship in respect to their professors. Proportionately, a good many came to my office. They were of all ages, from fairly young to extremely mature. There was not one, whether man or woman, who

was extremely unappealing; in fact some of them touched me very deeply. As there was no direct connection between my lectures and their examinations, any experience with 'mark-hunters' was naturally entirely lacking; indeed, that form of flattery which students at times attempt to use and for which the Chinese have the clever expression 'pat the horse' was entirely lacking. The relationship, therefore, remained friendly and open; the conversations of a very high order. One thing was extremely interesting, and that is how comparatively little they knew about general university affairs and how little interest they took in them.

The German student seems to be fully as class-conscious as does the Chinese or Japanese student. In this, he differs in his angle of approach very widely from the American student. The idea of an *Alma Mater*, which has been transferred into the Chinese language, reappearing in sinified English as 'Mother School,' is foreign to the broader conceptions of the German student. As an academic citizen, he has certain rights; these rights are not locally conditioned, but apply to him, no matter what university he may be attending. As the organization, conditions of entrance, general living conditions, and social environment are all more or less similar in all German universities, it becomes a matter of some indifference whether one is in Königsberg or Tübingen. Hence the indifference to the specifically local in the tradition. The American student, on the other hand, is bound

by a set of customs which vary completely from place to place. There is no 'campus' at Harvard; one must call it 'the Yard.' The students at Stanford wear, in each given year of their course, a particular and rigidly prescribed costume. There are thousands of these customs and tabus which fill the minds of the American students with a mass of local tradition. The German student, even in a small place in which the university plays a very important part in the local social life, is swallowed up by the university tradition rather than by the specific tradition of the place. The class-consciousness of the German students, then, is quite different from the student-consciousness in America, for the latter clings to the individual institution and gathers about itself an apparatus for self-preservation known as the alumni. This group fosters the separatistic rather than the universal student idea. The one serious evil result for America is the consequent preoccupation of the American student-mind and therefore of the alumni-mind with the affairs of a particular institution rather than with the university idea as a whole. This leads to a certain childishness and immaturity of thinking which is far less characteristic of the German student. Their pre-occupations are political rather than social. This does not necessarily mean that the play-spirit is wanting; it is quiescent. The class-consciousness affects the whole student body and brings it more or less as a thinking unit into *rapport* with the whole body of political, economic, and intellectual activity of the

nation. This does not, in any way, imply that the students do not love their institution, especially if they happen to have studied in it for several semesters. They display an affection and a gratitude that may well be called university spirit. The student body at Leipzig had to force through the general student organization its present constitution, and says proudly, after criticizing the methods of some other groups, 'The student body of Leipzig University followed another, more honorable way. . . . The Leipzig student body had to fight for a long time for their constitution . . . the student assembly at Innsbruck . . . in 1924 . . . saw an end of this battle. The attacks which were again launched there failed because of the unshakable adherence of the representatives from Leipzig to their constitution. . . .' This constant emphasis on the fact that the Leipzig group felt itself a unit in a fight for an ideal indicates the spirit of the university and may well be denominated local patriotism. But it does not gather any momentum from social differences. In the eighteenth century the differences between universities were perhaps more marked. Zachariae, in his 'Der Renommist' ('The Rough-Neck,' 1744), portrays the differences between the fine gentleman of Leipzig and the swaggering bullies of Jena. In the end, the bully is forced, in the serio-comic epic, to leave Leipzig and go to the near-by Halle. Giessen was also a place for rough-necks. Goethe, twenty years later, felt, as he afterward wrote in 'Faust,' that Leipzig educated its

people. The reminiscences of such local pride may still exist in university circles, but they have yielded in general to a larger attitude toward the whole question.

The Chinese student, on the other hand, has an equally strong class-consciousness. He differs from the German in that he has an extremely well-centralized organization, and is able, through this organization, to exert definite pressure both on the educational and political system of his country. He has been told so many times by visitors to China that he is the only hope of the country that he has come to believe this dogma, and it has welded him into a unit, which for class-conscious hysteria has not its equal anywhere in the world. Both the Chinese and the German students are generally in close touch with the political life of the nation; where, however, the Germans are split very sharply into a reactionary and a radical group and are supposed to favor the 'Right' political groups, the Chinese student is a thoroughgoing radical, completely 'intrigued' by the propaganda of the U.S.S.R. The thinking among the student groups in America is quite pallid in comparison, yet it is questionable whether, even in the United States, the term 'plastic' can any longer be applied to the student body. Throughout the world, and certainly in Europe and in the Orient, student thinking follows certain currents which can no longer be deflected from their chosen course.

The ideal which gives to the professor a maximum

of freedom gives, by corollary, practically the same freedom to the student. He studies where he will, when he will, and how much. As long as he does not come into conflict with the civil authorities (for the old university jurisdiction has been almost entirely abrogated), he is subject to no particular discipline. There are no records kept of his attendance or of his progress, and until he begins to prepare himself for his final examination, he is under no necessity of following a narrow line of courses. Naturally, if he has, upon entering the university, a definite goal in mind, and if his economic condition makes the early attainment of that goal a desideratum, he will begin to prepare himself for his examination at once. In general, the margin of his intellectual leisure is great, in that there is always a vast amount which he may enjoy, owing, of course, to the vitality of the German intellectual body. This brings very heavy schedules. The *Uebungen* in the chemical institutes run from eight to five, five days a week, and on Saturdays from nine to one, both in Leipzig and Berlin; if a student wishes to do anything else besides attend such courses, it makes an almost impossibly heavy schedule. Besides the heavy schedules, the students spend a good deal of time in reading; the seriousness with which they in general regard their work would be more refreshing if one could feel that there were a definite economic outlet for the mass of scientific data and method which is being piled up in Germany, as economically restricted as that country is at present.

The work is done along rather specialized lines. In general information, and in practical matters, German students seemed somewhat restricted. Two things come into play in this: persons of the student age, at the present time, show very definitely the influence of the isolation of Germany during the period of the war. Young people who ranged from ten to sixteen or eighteen at the beginning of the war are just in the midst of, or have very recently finished, their university careers, some of which were interrupted by actual service at the front. These young people show an almost cloistered monasticism of intellectual horizon. The second point is the extreme lack of practicality generally noticeable throughout the German student class, except in the technical universities. It is not merely a question of the study of such subjects as the phonetics of ancient Tibetan, or of equally recondite matters. The Germans have not passed through, and are not passing through, the age of the automobile, with its heightening of the general mechanical ability and its spreading through the youth of a general mechanical dexterity. Practically no student has an automobile, and the ability to handle one, which is so characteristic of the young American, has not found any surrogate in Germany. Though the radio is widespread, it does not seem that the young people make or erect their own sets. The point of comparison, however, lies in the fact that the specialization of Germany is extreme in every branch; one does not find the same type of general awakenss,

with whatever superficiality is conditioned by it, that is so universal in America.

In his specialty, and in general literature as well as in German literature, the student shows that he is a worker, a reader, and a thinker. Two young Americans with whom I was closely associated, and who had recently come from a first-class American college, were dumbfounded at the soundness of the information, in so far as that information was at all present, in their German friends. They were also agreeably surprised to find that the German students expected to talk of serious matters; there was no fear of being called a 'high-brow' if the conversation turned to the affairs of life, or more especially, to literature or art. In the latter branch, as well as in theatrical matters, the students with whom I came in contact had been restricted through lack of money. Few had seen many galleries or went often to theater or opera, but the reasons were only financial. Though several groups of students were seen in Italy, and though that country is reputed to be teeming with Germans, there was little evidence of travel in the groups with which we came in contact.

The above remarks apply to students of German nationality. These must be the principal interest in any German university, however cosmopolitan the German student body as a whole may be. Although the number of American students in Germany has fallen off tremendously since the war, and although there has been a general exodus of foreign students

since the end of the inflation period, there is still a remarkable number of foreigners studying in Germany. The statistics for the summer semester, 1925, are significant of the fields of intellectual influence of present-day Germany. The total was over 8000 foreign students. Bulgaria leads with 1061, which, in comparison to the 132 of 1914, is a great increase. Greece, with 416, shows a four hundred per cent increase. Norway, with its 289, was represented in 1914 with only 13. Rumania jumped from 144 to 706 in the same period. The German-Rumanian cultural relations are further fostered by a propaganda magazine, written in German by Rumanians, published in Bukarest, and widely distributed gratis. The total from all Asia in 1914 was 195; now China alone is represented by 294 and Japan by 103. The total for Africa was 917 in 1925; Egypt jumped to 178, South Africa to 31, whereas the total for all Africa in 1914 had been 30. In the latter year both Americas had 301 students studying in Germany; now there are only 191, of which the United States has 89, Argentine 17, Brazil 14, and Mexico 11. The trend from the United States is definitely toward France. The low figures for South America are surprising, considering the strong German influence in that part of the world, and more especially so, in view of the commercial and cultural propaganda now being carried on by Germany, especially in Mexico. For Russia, the statistics show a drop from 2156 to 421, but the former figure was for the entire Russian

Empire which includes countries now separately listed; as, for example, the Ukraine with 89, and Finland with 105, together with parts of such countries as Poland. There has, however, been a definite falling-off of Russians, especially since the end of the inflation.

These racial groups usually have their own organizations: there is, for example, an active Chinese Club in Berlin, and there is a Bulgarian Students' Club and a club of students from the Baltic Provinces in Leipzig. It is averred that many of these are strongly under Russian influence.

The social life of the German university, like the intellectual life, does not center around one definite pivot of intense local interest, such as the football team or the crew. There is a multiplicity of clubs and organizations, many of which meet, for social purposes only, in some *Lokal* or *Kneipe*. But there is nothing which corresponds to such an organization as the Harvard or Stanford Union. The German fraternities need no particular description. They range from the aristocratic *Corps*, which have fine houses and which still fight duels, to organizations which wear none of the distinctive emblems of their society, and which reject absolutely all dueling. It is amusing to note that what would be called, in America, the University Glee Club is, in Leipzig, an organization which gives *Unbedingte Satisfaktion*, that is to say, accepts challenges to duels for cause, while rejecting the *Bestimmungsmensur*, the duels fought by previous

arrangement between groups who meet for that purpose, without any idea of personal or fraternity enmity. It is impossible to say from observation whether dueling is decreasing. Two decades ago the bandaged faces and the smell of iodoform seemed more common than now, but this may be a mere impression. It was also my impression that the faces of the students in the fraternity were by no means those of fine, clear-cut young men. At the induction of the new Rector in Leipzig, the representatives of the fraternities, all in full regimentals, stood around the hall. I have seldom seen in a group of university students anywhere a less aristocratic or even a less intellectual looking group of young men.

The German student does not go in for the extravagances of dress which we are accustomed to associate with American collegians. 'Plus fours' and 'Oxford bags' had not reached Germany by the middle of 1926, except on the legs of an occasional traveler, where they were the subject of amused comment. On the other hand, the German students, as well as the German men in general, have not yet arrived at the state of sartorial internationalism; the clothing is stiff, formal, and badly cut. The standards of living have gone down to a great extent among the student class, so that their first attention is directed to something far more fundamental than the excellence of their tailoring. As some of them were too poor even to have any underwear, it is no wonder that the majority appeared badly dressed. The women stu-

dents were, on the whole, better in this respect. Women's clothes in Germany have become more international, more fashionable. The women students ranged all the way from old and somewhat frumpy dowds to extremely snappy fluffy-ruffles. In fact, at the summer semester of the University of Heidelberg, there was a surprising number of extremely well-dressed, good-looking girls, well-set-up, and with good figures. A number of them were Jewesses, perhaps from the neighboring Frankfort. Nowhere did one see, any more, the terrible creatures who haunted the university buildings in the early part of the century. A good many of these were Russians, but the memory of the sight and the odor of them still lingers with me from my student days in Berlin. The modern girl student has gone a good step in advance of this standard.

The social life of the students is by no means so full as that in America. There are fewer 'college activities,' and the general relation between the sexes is far more formal than it is in the United States. The young men and women come to class together, stand around in the hall between classes, smoking, go to parties and dances, but all of this is a by-product of university life and not an end in itself. One young couple decided that my lecture-room would be a good place in which to hold a *tête-à-tête*. As I was not confined to my manuscript in that course, I spent one period glaring at them. It worked. I got the feeling, from looking at the couples in my lectures and at the

dances, that human nature is very much the same among the young people everywhere, and that there is really no accounting for tastes.

The main social activity of each department, each semester, is a seminar party. At one of these which we attended in Leipzig, there were a few speeches, perhaps rather more than usual, because one professor was being inducted into the department and one was leaving. The principal speech — all the speeches were very short — was a charming exposition of the value of scholarship, the joy of the scholar's life and his pride in scholarly activity. The speech was so thoroughly un-American in character that it made a strong impression upon a group of Americans present. There was not the slightest hint of the practical value of scholarship, nor of the relation of scholarship to the teaching profession. There was no talk of either morals or ethics, yet the whole speech breathed so lofty a tone, was so direct and so heartfelt in its appeal, that I am sure that the sentimental German audience must have been touched by it. Besides the speeches, there was music, quite in line with the music one would expect to hear at a student party, and, as this was an English-Romanic seminar, a short English play was given, 'Wurzel-Flummery.' Besides this, chances were sold for a tombola, and the holders of lucky numbers received various books. After this, there was dancing; the refreshments were entirely 'dutch' and the waiters collected very carefully before Clio yielded to Terpsichore. This enter-

tainment seemed to be largely managed by students, but it was obvious that the professors took a deep interest in it, protected it, and felt it their duty to take an active part in it. The party was one in a long line of a definite tradition, and while its tone was informal, there was reserve behind. It was the symbol of the professorial attitude toward students.

There is a strong movement in Germany toward the development of an extensive athletic programme for the nation; in this movement the universities are taking an active part, and the State is fostering athletics wherever it can. The need for athletics is felt, not as a matter of diversion, as professional athletic exhibitions have come to be regarded in England and America, but as a means of building up a people, naturally vigorous, whose young people have been debilitated by the privations due to the war. It is also felt that some substitute must be found in discipline and drill for the former compulsory military service. As this compulsory service included practically every male, the substitution of a comprehensive athletic programme of national scope is no easy task, especially as this programme is intended to include the women, and even though there is the entire gymnastic background of the old *Turner* to build upon.

While it cannot be said that university athletics, or indeed athletics in general, occupy as much of the public attention as do sports in America, there is, proportionately, a very large amount of space given

to them; the sports page is an important feature of every daily newspaper, and illustrated sporting pages or pages with pictures of sporting events are very common in Sunday or other special editions. The activities of any German team or individual German who may happen to be contesting abroad are followed with nationalistic eagerness. Houben's trip to the United States in the winter of 1925-26 was distinctly felt to be a national event. Great hopes were set upon his winning, and his final rather poor showing was made the subject of exacerbating comment which, in some instances, descended, in true German fashion, to personalities.

In the athletic campaign there are two things which stand out as desiderata. The first is a complete national participation, through the coöperation of the entire school system. Here is where the university, as an intellectual leader, plays a part. University athletic grounds, sport clubs, and gymnasiums are being developed, and the German student body has definitely, as a part of its program, coöperation along athletic lines and the development of an athletic spirit. The State aids in the matter by making attendance upon the athletic courses and participation in athletic activities in the university a prerequisite for the teacher's diploma. The State fosters athletics through the following regulations: Athletic exercises are to be entered in the students' registration book like any other course; 'credit' is given only for regular attendance upon such courses; from the

summer of 1927, all examination records must contain an indication that the candidate has attended athletic exercises for at least two semesters. This new departure centralizes athletic control in the universities, makes university athletics an important branch of the curriculum, will tend to eliminate the private athletic clubs among the students, and will force the university to provide proper athletic equipment. The ideal of the gymnastic department in Leipzig is to develop small homogeneous groups of equal ability, so that the individuals may grow in strength with contestants of an equal state of development. There is an idea also of developing local university spirit in athletic contests with other universities. The second point in the definite intention on the part of those who are interested in athletic development, especially among university students, is to hold at arm's length every attempt at the 'Americanization' of German athletics. To the Germans, this term means few players and many spectators, expensive stadia and the introduction of professional athletics into university circles. There are being built in Germany at the present time stadia for athletic exhibitions, but they are not connected with the universities. In Leipzig the Academic Sport Club is a registered association, without having the character of a 'corporation,' that is, a fraternity. Its principal sports are tennis, hockey, skating, Rugby, and gymnastics. Its membership may include others besides university students, even young people from the secondary

schools. Members may join other sport clubs, but may not represent them in athletic contests, except by special permission to be obtained each time. The women have a separate division, with their own chairman and their own meetings, at which a male representative of the club may be present. The president of the women's division must be consulted on all matters pertaining to women's athletic affairs. There is a very elaborate penal code attached to the constitution. There is a law court and appeal from its decisions. There are eight different punishments, ranging from a fine of one hundred marks through exclusion from participation in club activities for two weeks, to expulsion from the club. Section 11 provides for a point well understood in German psychology, when it states that each of the two punishing bodies may demand that insults or other improper expressions be retracted through a proper explanation. As the Germans are frequently quarreling among themselves, and as such quarrels lean toward caustic personalities, some provision must be made in the matter.

The entire attitude in the constitution of the club is different from that of a similar organization in America. It is built up more or less out of a series of abstractions and does not arise spontaneously out of the athletics themselves, by that trial-and-error method which characterizes what might be called the Anglo-Saxon procedure. The difference reminds one of the difference between the English common law

and the codes of the Continental nations. I was unable to get a glimpse into the working of this organization, which was fully as clumsy as its constitution indicated. The attempt to build up scientifically a club to provide for remote contingencies had the effect of smothering some of the free spirit of competition. I saw the intimate working of the hockey division. The subscription price for the privilege of playing hockey with the club, as a member of its first team, even with all possible deductions, was a considerable sum for the present-day German student pocketbook. It was very difficult to get people out to play, and there was little or no attempt at practice or team work, so that some of the private teams were easily able to beat the A.S.C. The people in charge were very anxious to introduce the Canadian game of hockey, but it seemed almost impossible to get people together to learn it, even though its advantages over land hockey, played on the ice, were obvious. It seemed to me that the mass of students at Leipzig was not particularly keen on sports. To be sure, winter sports require warm clothing and exuberant vitality. I am not certain that both of these were common enough among students to leave a surplus for out-of-doors. There were excursions into the mountains and in and about Leipzig itself, for the purpose of winter sports; but on the whole, there was very little sign of what America would call real athletic activity.

CHAPTER VI

SOME POST-WAR EFFECTS ON THE THEATERS AND LITERATURE

ALTHOUGH there were plenty of things to criticize in the German theater before the war, Germany was, after all, the classic land of the good theater. Prices were incredibly low, and the performances, all things being considered, were excellent. Some of the buildings were stuffy, the actresses were not always beautiful, and there were other minor — or even major — defects. But on the average, there was greater opportunity to see good plays, reasonably well acted, and at a moderate price, than in any other country in the world. The small excellent subsidized State theaters were such a contrast to the tawdry ‘opera-houses’ of the American hinterland as to bring shame to the latter. Nor did the State companies have anything in common, either in technique or in ideals, with the barn-stormers of America. Even the average American stock companies had no such repertory as had the equivalent German city theater in the small city. On the whole, the acting of the American stock company in comedy was rather freer, perhaps a little better; as the American companies, happily, did not attempt tragedy, there is no means of comparison with the serious efforts of the Germans. Scenery was, in both cases, mediocre. But when the final balance was drawn, the advantage was distinctly on the

German side, because, behind the German players, there was a long tradition and a conscious literary ideal, however tenuous; these were partially kept alive by the subsidies from the State or the reigning house, or they were intrinsically present in the more mellow older culture. The stage was also an educational feature, in that it gave young people and the masses a constant opportunity to see good plays of the classical type at reasonable prices. The ideal was not puritanic; it was educational on the one hand, and hedonistic on the other; the balance between these two was far more definitely maintained than with us, as is proved by the comparative rarity of mere 'eye and ear entertainment' in the older Germany. Those who know the American theater only in New York or Chicago, or who live away from the centers and therefore do not know the theater at all, can hardly form a clear picture of the state of the drama in a country so permeated by good theaters as Germany was, and to some extent, still is.

Like everything else in Germany, the theater is subtly changed and yet not changed. In the theatrical world, the hardest blow has been unquestionably the economic one. Its influence is definite, direct, and clearly marked everywhere. Needless to say, during the war there was little time or money for equipment and new developments; costumes and properties deteriorated and even up to the present time have not been entirely replenished. With the rise in the cost of living, the salaries of the actors have had to be raised,

but the theater-going public is by no means ready or able to meet these and other increases in the cost of production by increases in the cost of seats. The cry was universal for cheaper theater seats, and, indeed, the prices of good seats in good theaters, while low in comparison with the same seats in America, were relatively expensive. With conditions what they are in Germany, nine to twelve marks is a good deal to pay for a seat. This represents the highest level. The average is, of course, much lower, and it is still possible to hear an opera for a mark in the 'peanut gallery' in many cities of Germany. Even lighting and heating have become a problem. The theaters are heated, but the heat is said to be a very serious production cost. An amusing incident in connection with the lighting, and one which indicates the present state of affairs, was the advertisement of an opera with gala illumination (*festlich beleuchtet*). One expected to see the theater ablaze with light in honor of a group of visiting delegates, but the only difference was that the large central chandelier was lighted ten minutes before the opening of the performance and during the intermissions.

As in America, a further element in the economic retrogression of the theater is the cinema. 'The movies' are more apt to be full than the theaters, though the full house is by no means a certainty in either case. It was also reported that the excessive taxes paid by the motion-picture theaters were causing many of them to close down. Besides this, the

films were very largely American products and struck not only at the attendance on the theater, but at the very heart of the acting profession, in taking away its livelihood both in the spoken and the silent drama. A great deal was made by the newspapers of the reported financing of the German motion-picture industry by American 'film magnates,' and, when Jannings was reported to be going to America on very advantageous terms, every one seemed pleased at the prospect. The radio also had made some slight inroads on theater attendance, but as there were, in all, only about six hundred thousand radio sets registered for all Germany, and these mainly in and about Berlin and larger centers in the North, it was not considered that the radio was doing much to keep the people away from the theaters.

It was difficult to get accurate information about the theater situation. It was rumored that conditions in Berlin had grown so bad that Reinhardt was about to shut up shop, to reopen in Vienna, but as Reinhardt was actually advertising his next season's plays in Berlin, the rumor was obviously false. But its persistence was indicative, for it showed the temper of those who were in the business, where all was not as well as it might be. Reinhardt and a group of other producers were advertising, several months ahead of the new season, a subscription series of miscellaneous plays and operas at a very low figure. The series had to be paid for in advance, and it was generally understood in theatrical circles that this move

was an effort to finance the coming season. On the other hand, it was evident that in some of the industrial centers there was plenty of money. The opera in Essen, for example, was making extensive scenic experiments and was putting on very expensive settings under a competent young director.

The theater in the small cities of Germany has always been a source of pride. Industrial towns like Gera or Zwickau, or small 'Residences' like Weimar or Meiningen, had subsidized theaters, which, for variety of programme, earnestness of effort, and general excellence of performance, vied with the best, and were the source from which the metropolitan stars were frequently drawn. These were repertory theaters in the German sense of that term. This means that a certain number of plays is agreed upon as the offering for any given season. Some of these are old and well-tried favorites and include a certain amount of classical plays and drawing cards to meet the public taste and to keep the house full. There will be each season, besides this, a certain number of novelties. All of these plays will be given more or less in rotation, so that each subscriber may have a chance, on his night, to get practically the selection for the entire season. The standard depends upon the industry and resourcefulness of the manager, upon the ability of the troupe, and of course, to a great degree, upon the financial success of the venture. The more successful it is, the more apt it is to have a wide repertory. The extent of the repertory depends natu-

rally upon a large staff of actors, who can divide the various types of rôles among them, since it is a well-established principle not to let any actor run himself stale by the constant playing of the same rôle for months at a time, night after night, in dreary succession. These conditions apply also to the theaters in the larger cities, but in the smaller places it is necessary that they be subsidized, by either the State, the city, or the private purse of the ruling prince.

It is upon these smaller theaters that the economic burden has fallen most heavily, since the socialistic State has taken the attitude that 'bread' is more important than the 'circus,' and so the subsidies have dwindled. The result is a lessening of the number of performances, the addition of more drawing-cards, or even an amalgamation of the theaters into larger central units, more able to bear the financial burden involved. Even as it is, the offerings were not despicable. For the week from December 6 to 12 of 1925, the Chemnitz opera played 'Lohengrin,' 'Rigoletto,' 'Martha,' and the 'Rosenkavalier,' besides the drawing cards 'Frau Holle' and 'Königskinder.' The other Chemnitz theater had one play of Kleist, one of Schiller, one of Ibsen, Shaw's 'St. Joan,' besides a miscellaneous group of other plays. In Zwickau, Altenburg, Gera, and Weimar together, there were only two nights that were 'dark,' and on one of these the Weimar actors were playing in Jena. The drawing cards were the 'Countess Maritza,' 'Frau Holle,' and 'Der Wahre Jakob,' all of which were being con-

stantly played throughout Germany. Besides this, there were in each of these theaters at least two performances of grand opera, and in Weimar a performance of 'A Woman of No Importance' and two performances of Halbe's 'The Stream.' The difference in tone between Weimar and three other cities is significant. These three are industrial cities of something over one hundred thousand inhabitants, and find only grand opera, light opera, and concerts profitable, whereas Weimar, with its long literary tradition, its high-grade population, and its prominence as the seat of many schools (there were, before the war, one hundred and thirty-seven schools for girls in the city), made it possible to present more serious plays.

These theaters are not being crowded out by the commercial theater, but are being hit by changed economic conditions and by the general poverty of Germany. Perhaps the case of Münster, in Westphalia, might also be cited. On the night of our visit the theater was dark, and there was only one motion-picture house open. The two other motion-picture theaters were dark and we were told that no cinema was open more than two nights a week. In the one cinema which was open, there was an American comedy, and a 'drama' with a title something like 'The Sins of Passion,' the advertisements of which were sufficiently lurid. In Cassel there was a traveling company playing trash at the State theater. All in all, it seemed as if the small Saxon theaters, which

were reported to be hit very hard by the economic situation, were holding up as high standards as any, though they were reported to be the nearest to extinction.

No outsider has any right to tell a specialist how to run his business, but it does seem as if the whole principle of seat-selling in Germany made for the maximum of inconvenience to the public and for only a modicum of security to the management. To be sure, a large part of the house, both for theater and opera, is sold out by subscription in advance, but, as people have grown poorer in Germany, they have let their subscriptions lapse, and the parvenu class does not take kindly to the serious drama. The result is that there are plenty of seats for those who wish to buy them, but the German theaters have the annoying habit of charging an extra price for seats bought in advance; besides this, they announce the plays only one week ahead, so that there is a scramble for seats, a long queue on the day that the tickets are first put on sale, and after that, only leavings. By arranging the performances so short a time ahead the management can keep its programme flexible, but, as it obviously must give the subscribers practically everything that the season offers, there must be a plan more or less worked out in advance for the entire season, and it ought to be possible to buy seats longer ahead and without the annoying extra fee. It seems merely a part of business common-sense to change the system, but something, whether tradition, con-

servatism, or hidden reasons which the average outsider cannot fathom, have, from time immemorial, prevented the easy and convenient purchase of theater tickets by the general public in Germany.

Whatever may be said of the difference between the commercial theater and the subsidized State theater, it is apparent that in the small towns, at least, a State theater brings with it an intimacy with, and an interest in, the stage and its problems, which is totally lacking, even in the theater-guild type of organization; in the latter, the interest is either purely intellectual, and is partly satisfied with lectures on dramatic art, or the coterie is technically interested in definite problems of acting or of stage production. This is, of course, an improvement over the old type of theater-going, but is not to be compared with the interest aroused by the small court or city theater, which belongs more intimately to the people. The actors, as State officials, are a part of the concern of the taxpayers — even if hired through an *Intendant*. There is an atmosphere of ‘homeyness’ enveloping such an organization to a degree that no one acquainted only with the commercialized theater can sense. It takes the place of the ‘press-agent stuff’ and the tosh with which the motion-picture magazines in America try to fool the public. In Germany the facts are real and the interest actual. Such a theater as is found in Weimar, for example, exhibits this idea to a surprising degree; the very building, standing as it does on the site of an edifice made

sacred by the tradition of Goethe and Schiller, has become nationalized in spirit, through the sessions of the Weimar Parliament of 1919, which were held in it. Yet just such theaters as this are threatened with financial disaster, though they serve so definite a social purpose and add so much to the luster of Germany's stage tradition. The salaries paid are absurdly small; any one fortunate enough to get away does so. The opera-singers look to both Americas for release, or, at least, for a supplementation of their incomes; but the actors have no such chances. The musicians in such an organization are compelled to eke out a living by private teaching; they and the singers, as well as the actors, lead lives which consist mainly of hard work. Even when not actually performing, they are away giving concerts in other towns or are practicing hard on new works. From my own observation of these people, it was quite plain that their lives were as far as possible removed from the glamour and glitter that are traditionally associated with the stage.

A form of subsidy through which the State endeavors to interest the people in the drama are the so-called 'folk-performances.' This means that the average citizen has a right to seats, at a very low price, for a series of special performances, the titles of which are not generally known in advance, but are more or less guaranteed by the reputation of the management to be up to standard. The subscriber, however, cannot choose his time, nor his play, nor

his seat. These are all allotted; sometimes he may sit in the stalls, sometimes in the gallery. He may transfer his seat, but he is obligated to take the responsibility for it if he has subscribed. The object is not only to secure attendance, as such, but to interest the working classes in the theater, through offering them the opportunity to see good plays, and yet not to allow them to throng those to which, perhaps, a less elegant taste might lead them. The stage here becomes definitely an educational factor. It was the consensus of opinion that, as far as the working classes *per se* were concerned, these efforts were futile. The laboring man, the artisan, and the factory worker found the level too high or the expense too great; they took their pleasures elsewhere and were not interested in being educated through the theater. For the teacher and student, for the ruined members of the former *Rentier* class, the performances were a great boon. The audiences consisted mainly of the educated proletariat, or even of persons of a more secure financial class who found attendance upon such reasonable performances profitable.

If the old *Volksbühne* of the earlier days still exists, with its performances of Anzengruber and folk-operettas, it has dwindled into something which does not make itself heard or felt.

The greatest change in the theater, caused by the present economic conditions, is in the repertory. Germany has never been favorable to long runs. Now, through the necessity of offering drawing cards,

plays which have proved attractive are put on far more often than their merit warranted. A comedy like 'Charley's Aunt' had a phenomenal run, partly due to the craving for something light, and partly perhaps because of the interest in anything American, no matter how extravagant. A comedy called 'The Lucky Dog,' in which the dénouement is brought about in the last act by a barbarous caricature of an uncle from America who arrives on the stage with suitcases full of dollars, was given for weeks at a time in Leipzig. 'The True Jacob' was played all over Germany on long runs, and there were a number of light operas and operettas which held the stage, not merely in the houses especially dedicated to this type of performance, but also on the more serious stages in the provinces. Except in the light-opera theater, there are, of course, no long runs at all, for in Germany the programme in a good theater rarely includes as many as two performances weekly of the same play. Longer runs were creeping in, however, and during the Christmas vacation, and for a number of weeks thereafter, the charming children's fairy tales were put on continuously before packed houses. The operettas were supposed to be 'running full,' though in Leipzig there were signs of economic difficulties in the operetta theater which occupied the attention of the newspapers for weeks.

But there were also serious dramatic productions which held the stage. These naturally varied greatly both in style and quality. There was a constant pro-

duction of German classic plays: Goethe, Schiller, and to some extent Lessing. Kleist and Hebbel retain their hold upon the public, the former for his patriotic dramas, as 'Prince Frederick of Homburg,' and the latter perhaps partially for his sex interest; 'Judith,' for example, was constantly played in Berlin. Grillparzer seems to have slipped into complete oblivion. There was some slight performance of Shakespeare, but in the season of 1925-26 by no means as much as there was twenty-odd years before, at least, as far as general observation of conditions could prove.

The place of the older classical literature is taken by plays with a sharper tang of modernity. Not even Werfels was so popular as during the same season in America. Among the most notorious successes, whether from a box-office point of view or not, were the 'Circle of Chalk,' 'The Joyous Vineyard,' 'Henry of Andernach,' and the 'Medea' of Jahns.

Each of these plays owed its success to a definite contemporary appeal: 'Henry of Andernach' to its patriotism and its class spirit; the 'Joyous Vineyard' because it created a theater scandal along the Rhine, where the wine-growing interests felt themselves insulted by it, an attitude which resulted in the usual interruptions of the performances by students and others, the intervention of the police, the cutting-out of objectionable passages by the censor, and columns of excellent publicity in the newspapers. Usually, the censorship in Germany, where the freedom of literature is now guaranteed by the national constitution,

is exercised for the benefit of young people. When there is a 'theater scandal' the censorship steps in and enormously assists the popularity of the piece.

Jahns's 'Medea' is thinly disguised pornography; his other play, 'Pastor Magnus,' which won the Kleist Prize in 1920, is so pathological that the bestowal on it of so important an honor would seem an alarming symptom of decay in Germany's literary judgment, were it not for the fact that the better critics realize that the award was only the result of a temporary post-war psychosis. The success of 'Medea,' which is by no means so diseased as the prize play, shows clearly, however, that clever exploitation of sexual psychopathy pays in Germany as well as anywhere else. The young couples who sat through the performances in Berlin would, twenty years ago, certainly not have been allowed by their parents to attend such a play; they were present in goodly numbers and quite unchaperoned. The same phenomenon was observed in the film version of Wedekind's 'Frühlingserwachen,' where somewhat self-conscious young people were evidently sitting through an extremely dull and highly moral bowdlerization of the play, in the anxious hope of seeing something piquant. The 'Medea' audience was of clearly higher social status than that of the film, but the pornographic interest was obviously the same. This interest was not in the drama as a medium of literary expression, but as a surrogate of unattainable outlets or as a stimulant to passion. This is a far cry

from Aristotle's 'catharsis,' which, too, was a surrogate, but which purged and freed the Hellenic soul of its impurities. Another typical, popular, and very much-discussed play was Klabund's 'Circle of Chalk,' a frank exotic. The scene is laid in that mythical China which the American audience has learned to know from 'Mr. Wu,' 'East is West,' 'The Yellow Jacket,' and plays of that stripe. Klabund, who has reworked some Chinese lyrics into very acceptable German form, and who has written at least one popular and appreciative article on Taoism, is a very widely read German author.¹ His play is a continuation of his interest in the East, but is one of those performances which only serves to darken our knowledge of the Orient. The play was put on in Leipzig at a commercial theater supported by a theater guild, and not at the city theater. It made fully as many positively last appearances as Patti was wont to make, and always seemed to pack the house. The source of its popularity was at first not clear. As staged in Leipzig, it had rather unpleasant scenery which gave anything but a Chinese picture, since the main principle of Chinese art is balance, whereas the scenery in Leipzig was awkwardly and irregularly triangular; its intrigue was trivial, and the dramatic conflict was so thoroughly un-Chinese as to be ridiculous. In talking the matter over with Germans with whom I remonstrated for their admiration of this false and somewhat caricatured picture of China I learned that it

¹ Alf. Henschke, b. 1894.

was less the exotic which made its appeal than a veiled social and political satire on contemporary German political conditions. One of the highest spots in the play is where the outcast brother of the heroine faces the Emperor of China and gives vent to some remarkably modern sentiments of a socialistic nature, especially so for a Chinese, and in a play the scene of which is laid in the early eighteenth century, and which is supposed to be based upon an actual Chinese drama of an earlier period. But it was just such generalizing that appealed to many Germans. These admired Klabund for having given what seemed to them a vital German problem, in exotic dress. They pointed to the parallel with Lessing's 'Emilia Galotti,' though the fact that Lessing was compelled by eighteenth-century absolutism to lay his scene in Italy, and that no such historical necessity holds at present, never seemed to the Germans to make any difference. When it was pointed out that the distortion was, as is so frequent in Western literature, at the expense of the Chinese, the answer was that, if it was not a real picture, the Chinese were not injured. Unluckily, however, this line of reasoning does not hold good, since every distortion of the Orient by the Occident makes the Orient more difficult to understand. There seems to be no difference, in quality, in the literature which portrays China and Japan in Germany from the banalities of Louise Jordan Miln and her ilk in English.

In the case of the popularity of such a play as the 'Circle of Chalk,' we deal with the problem of the ego-

centric in the contemporary German attitude toward life. If such a play were a real Chinese play, one might regard it as a mere form of 'escape literature'; what it actually shows is that, to the Germans, their own problems have been so serious as to take on a certain element of unreality, so that the 'escape' seems perfectly natural, even when, as a matter of fact, it is entirely arbitrary. Germany's impulse toward the East and toward Italy, the famous 'Drang nach dem Osten' and the 'Drang nach Italien,' manifest themselves in such plays in a far more subtle manner than the Germans themselves completely understand, and it is a really dangerous romanticizing of their own difficulties which lies at the basis of the vogue. The same tendency to get away from themselves was seen in other theatrical successes. Pirandello was played everywhere; his appearance with his troop was made a great occasion. Shaw, Galsworthy, and the Russians were extremely popular; 'Lady Windermere's Fan' held its place in Germany, as it does in China. 'Rain' was howled down by most dramatic critics as 'American (!) trash,' but it was being played in many cities. The popularity of plays of such varied provenience gave the general impression that the German stage had lost some of its indigeneness, that it was not only vainly striving for economic stability, through catering to the public, but that it was finding it hard to come to its own through the vast ramifications of intellectual and social cross-currents in which it was being tossed from extreme

to extreme. A reading of the reviews of first nights confirms this impression. Many more plays get a first hearing in Germany than in America, though of those which are heard, comparatively few seem to survive. From the reviews of those which are offered to the public for criticism and degustation, the majority seems hardly above the level of the very mediocre.

In some ways, the opera was rather better, although it has a tradition no firmer and is certainly more expensive to maintain than the regular theater. Germany has lost a great many of its best singers and is finding it difficult to hold the good ones who remain. In the opera, the variation in standards is rather greater than in the drama. Leipzig, which had no first-class vocal talent, was able to enjoy an excellent orchestra through coöperation with the management of the Gewandhaus. It is significant that on Thursday nights, the nights of the Gewandhaus concerts, the Leipzig opera was at its worst; only such operas as made small demands on the orchestra were produced, since a large number of musicians played in the concert orchestra on those nights. The opera in Munich was very disappointing, in singing, in acting, and in the general standard of performance; whereas in Vienna, the old standards were seemingly maintained. After all, however, good opera, if not brilliant or magnificent, in the sense of the performances at the Metropolitan, is still possible for the German people; the German performances

compared very favorably with those in Paris, with the additional advantage that the German audiences still sit quietly enjoying the performances in a darkened house and with perfect attention and perfect reverence for a work of art. There is no country where opera is more appreciated and where opera manners are better. The interruptions through late comers and through applause within the acts are not tolerated in Germany.

The greatest weakness of the German stage has always been the actual acting. In comedy, one missed the *sang-froid* and the snap of the best English tradition. When the Russian company from Moscow was playing in Germany, the Germans frankly admitted that this type of acting was a revelation to them. It had verve and temperament to a degree that the Germans could not seem to produce, and the success of the company was genuine, because it brought something new in actual acting technique. Strangely enough, Pirandello's Italian Company did not make the same impression. Its advent was evidently more a literary than a directly theatrical event.

The acting in comedy was, and still is, considerably better than in tragedy. The German acting in serious drama, and especially in poetic drama, suffers from the persistence of the stilted style favored by Goethe. Excessive pathos, the forcefully scanned line, in which the iambics can easily be counted, the rolling eye, the wild gesture, and the shouting voice are current everywhere. Years ago, Matkowski 'split the

ears of the groundlings' in 'Götz von Berlichingen,' Christians writhed across the stage as Leander in Grillparzer's 'The Waves of the Sea and of Love,' but up to date there has been no change and no improvement. The young actor in the 'Circle of Chalk' who vented his social philosophy vented it in such a tone and with such excessive emotion that to those who had any historical background for the idea of the Imperial Chinese Court, with its reserve and its dignity, the idea seemed ludicrous. An American audience surely would have found the passage low comedy. Kleist's 'Prince Frederick of Homburg' was played by the city troupe in Leipzig in about the same style that one might expect from the German club of a Western State University, except that it would be played in America, even by amateurs, with some reserve. It was almost incredible that, in all these plays, the ability to let the psychology of the character appear through the lines by means of restrained action and voice was completely missing. It was as if the actors were so overcome that they lost control of themselves, or that their technique was to browbeat their audiences into a mood. Becker, who, as guest, played the part of Faust in the gala performances in Weimar at Easter, acted with such yelling and eye-rolling that it finally became first-class burlesque. His success in the part was, if not 'brilliant,' at least 'brülliant.' Opinion as to his performance was divided, and, in justice to the Germans, it must be said that many found him impossible; he

was a hard-working actor, no worse than the average. An equally poor performance of 'Fiesco' drew forth no adverse comment, and the same extravagant school of acting was defended and liked by many people everywhere. Performances which foreigners found intolerable because of the ranting, received high praise from the critics. Perhaps less improvement has been made in the actual technique of acting than in any other one of the branches of the arts. This is especially interesting because of the pre-occupation of the Germans with the stage. Producers like Reinhardt have a world reputation. Every once in a while one finds an individual whose acting is splendid, but, by and large, especially in the classical drama, the Germans have allowed themselves to be satisfied by less than mediocrity.

Something of the same tendencies that are to be found in the theater will naturally also be found in literature in general. The theater stands out, however, as affected by the economic conditions, more than literature, because there is an obvious fixed overhead, something tangible and apparent; in the case of the book world, whatever shifts may have occurred have occurred more or less in private, and are not so obvious as those in the theater. But more than that, the book business is one of Germany's great industries, and there is an export side to it that the theater does not enjoy. Even if German films were sent out to any great extent, as the American films now are, it would not necessarily presage any-

thing for literature. But within the nation there are some interesting phenomena in regard to literary attitudes. The literary magazines make a good deal of the work of native authors, but, in actual fact, a perfect flood of foreign material is now swamping the German book market, and the Germans are far more interested in finding out about foreign authors than in telling about their own. Translations of Galsworthy, Shaw, A. M. Hutchinson, Anatole France, Romaine Rolland, Ellen Key, Sinclair Lewis, and Percy Marks are seen in every bookshop window; the Tauchnitz editions, as before the war, supply material in the original.

Book prices, like theater prices, are high, and there were constant complaints in Leipzig as to the production costs.¹ As Leipzig is one of the most important publishing centers in the world, its attitude is interesting. One of the heads of the book guild told me that, of all the industries in the entire city, only the book business was able to stand on its feet. This was due to the fact that Leipzig is also a center for the subsidiary and ancillary trades connected with the publishing business, and so can work for other parts of Germany; it was due in a measure to the fact that Germany exports books to all parts of the world, and that the German booksellers are making every effort to regain their former place in the world's markets.

¹ Even so, where an American publisher refused a book on the ground that he could not sell twenty thousand copies, a Leipzig publisher was satisfied with a sale of four thousand copies.

There are many fine editions, splendid illustrated works; in fact, there is no hint in the German market that the number of books issued or their character has changed or deteriorated. During the inflation there was, as it seemed to a good many people, chicanery on the part of some publishers. Ordinary books were printed on the worst possible paper; the good paper which was very scarce, was saved for *de-luxe* editions, for special editions of books that were mere money-getters, or for books that would catch the foreign market. Some of these were books of more than doubtful value, both from a literary and a moral standpoint. Perhaps the publishers were driven to these tricks from sheer economic necessity. At any rate, there is still some printing of editions of the classics in what seems to be unnecessarily fine form: so-called '*Liebhaber*' editions which look like commercial ventures only. But even for the ordinary book, the day of cheap editions is over, though the Germans still buy books; whether in the quantity and of the quality of the pre-war period, it is impossible to say. As the theaters make an effort to interest the common man, so do the booksellers. There are various associations to foster book-buying — *Volksbüchereien* — which offer attractive bargains in reasonable books, but even in these cases it was necessary to take some trash in order to get what one wanted.

One thing which in America makes the American public a reading public is not developed to any great

extent in Germany: the public library. There are, of course, plenty of public libraries, but they are neither so convenient and comfortable nor so efficient as the libraries in the United States. Perhaps there is a good deal of trash read in the American public libraries; perhaps, too, the people buy less because of these public institutions. But it is, in the main, rather easier to get at what books there are in America than anywhere else in the world. The 'Deutsche Bücherei' in Leipzig is a center for all the books published in Germany, and, in its way, is for books what the German Museum in Munich is for the whole scientific and technological world of Germany. The 'Bücherei' is more efficient than any other institution of its kind that came under my observation in Europe; it has a modern card catalogue and efficient clerking, but it still takes too long to get a book, the number of books allowed to a subscriber is restricted, and there is an atmosphere of red-tape that characterizes all library administration not under American influence. In fact, one of the more serious lacunæ in the book world in Europe is the extremely inefficient library system in most libraries. But the force of conservatism is so great that all innovations in library technique from America are looked on with suspicion. This is true even in Norway, for example, where the public libraries are administered very largely by graduates of American library schools, but where the university libraries refuse to employ such. In Germany, though

there is a good deal of talk about library methods, the whole subject is in its infancy, and in most places the problem is not yet even envisaged.

These are some of the technical matters connected with the world of books. When one turns to literature, as such, and tries to get a clear picture of what is on foot in Germany at the present time, one finds that the same difficulty exists to-day that existed twenty years ago. The German point of view toward literature suffers from too much perspective and needs a great deal of foreshortening. For many cultivated Germans, Hauptmann is still a modern author, although Hauptmann has been a 'Seminar-concept' these many years.

Courses in modern authors are surprisingly rare in German universities, but, if the whole university attitude may be said to suffer from the too long perspective, there is also much to be said in favor of this point of view. It prevents the filling-up of young minds with ephemeral ideas, and throws the responsibility of literary judgment back on the young people themselves. Perhaps the lack is more apparent in dealing with foreign literatures, especially with English, than with the native literature. Certainly, the young people are, in the main, well read in contemporary books, which they are never ashamed to discuss. All through the country, however, there is less interest in contemporary literature, especially in fiction, than one finds in America, and, when one tries to abstract from one's friends a clear picture of

Germany's literary status to-day, one finds it almost impossible to obtain the necessary material. I must confess that I left Germany without a clear picture in my own mind of contemporary literary currents, nor does it seem possible to get the picture from the literary magazines. The reviews in these are entirely too tendentious and 'literary'; some of them make the impression of 'smart-Aleckness,' and of purposely clouding the issue in order to bring forward some personal point interesting to the reviewer.¹

While there are books which are popular, there are no such literary epidemics in Germany as sweep over the United States, where, for a time, every one reads the same thing and seems to read nothing else. A certain American group, living in a single 'Compound' in China, received, all told, one Christmas twenty-three copies of 'If Winter Comes' from friends and relatives in America. Such sheep-like reading is entirely uncharacteristic of Germany. Feuchtwanger's 'Jud Süß' was in every bookseller's window, but almost no one of the group I knew had read it, and yet these were people of the keenest intellectual power. People did not rave over this or that novel, and no one seemed concerned at the state of German poetry. If Rilke, before his death, retired to the mountains in disgust, after being the idol of the young people for a time, no one bothers about it.

As everywhere in the world to-day, there is a deep

¹ The newspapers report that Dreiser gained the same impression in Europe.

interest in sex and sex problems. In Japan it amusingly led to the spurious popularity of Einstein's 'Relativity,' which was translated by characters which led the Japanese to think that it treated of sex relationship; in China, it results in the popularity of Zola and de Maupassant. Its manifestations in America are well known. In Germany, it takes the form of interest in Keyserling's 'Book of Marriage,' and other books of that type. Magazines in which the nude is portrayed without any concealment owe their popularity far less to an out-of-doors return to nature, in which environment the nude is portrayed, than to the fact that naked human beings are photographed on their covers. 'Deutsches Baden' might, at first hearing, be thought to deal with the Duchy of that name, but one look at the cover will show at once that female figures in costumes which make the one-piece bathing suit seem a wet blanket are meant. The magazines which cater to the pornographic are more open than those with the same purpose in America. The photographs of the nude which are publicly sold would be prohibited by the police in the States. Some of these magazines which purport to be artistic are either concealed advertisements of dealers in preparations connected with the endocrine glands, or, in one way or another, try to stimulate interest in rejuvenation processes. The beauty contests are fully as vulgar as those displays anywhere. What consistently comes to the fore in such publications is the emphasis on female homosexuality which is discussed

on the basis of the nude female figure with a disarming appearance of scientific truth, underneath which there is a vast amount of pruriency. The pruriency and lubricity of the advertisements probably sell the magazine to the sex-starved, of whom, judging from the 'agony columns' of the journals, Germany has its full quota. Some of this is based on post-war psychoses, some on economic necessity, some on sheer degeneracy. The picture presented, while not alluring, is no worse than the reaction one gets from contemporary civilization anywhere, nor does it seem, to one acquainted with the literature of the past, to denote any present-day degeneracy beyond what was enjoyed by our ancestors. The social tabus for young people are still somewhat more rigid than in America, so that one gets no impression of 'flaming youth,' or of any serious revolt of youth against conventionality. Whatever the 'Youth Movement' has meant in this respect to its devotees, it has not performed any really revolutionary service to Germany's young people in general.

Wherever one touches contemporary German literature, one finds it still in the old bonds. Here and there a personality arises from the general level, like that of Thomas Mann. Werfels, as was said when the drama was discussed, seemed far less important in Germany than in America; Fritz von Unruh, Schickel, and a host of others, are either turgid or affected, and popular writers like Lienhard still were obsessed with the sentimental haziness which has been such a

blight on German literature since the early Romantic Movement. In one respect, certainly, German literature to-day represents German life: in its leveling down of great personalities — as in politics and art; in its struggle to find a medium of expression after a national disaster and to develop a realization of the actual problems which confront it. That the old point of view and the old shibboleths are gone is clear, yet German literature is still midway between a clinging to the past with a sentimental romanticism and a striking-out into the future with a new clear vision. The ferment of the present is all that one sees; the new form has not evolved, at least, for the casual observer.

A treatment of the radio belongs here, because it is definitely a new medium of expression which, as an institution, immediately caught the fancy of the Germans. While its spread is not so wide as in the United States, it is cheaper. There are only two sending stations, the one under the supervision of the Post-Office, and the rival one, an attempt on the part of private people, also working to a certain extent with the Government, to give a better and more educational programme. There were, as has been mentioned, about six hundred and fifty thousand subscribers, mostly in and about Berlin; of these, ninety per cent were from the working classes. As these are politically predominantly socialistic, it was necessary to be very careful in what was said, lest they be offended and force the Government

to make drastic changes. As it was, the office received thousands of letters daily, mostly complaining of the type of programme, or criticizing points made in the educational lectures. Any one who was asked to lecture had to submit his talk to the manager for possible revision and excision. The price paid for a twenty-five-minute lecture was one hundred and fifty marks; most people felt that it was hardly worth while, from the financial point of view, but many were glad of the advertisement which it afforded.

The advertising feature was very prominent. The so-called 'hints to the housewife,' with which the morning programme began, were nothing more than suggestions where to buy, mixed with a few household and cooking hints. A new fashion magazine was also advertised, and a wholesale dealer in herrings announced a three days' sale of this ever-popular fish at ten for eighty pfennige! The reading of the best jokes from the 'Lustige Blätter' was obviously a paid puff for that magazine. There was a theater service which told about the plays for the week and which announced that the receipt for a radio subscription entitled the holder to tickets at half-price. New poems were read, and the publisher was thus advertised. In fact, even the opera advertised through the radio. Franz Schrecker's 'Der ferne Klang,' a German opera, was announced, a synopsis given, its good qualities praised, with special eye to the fact that it was a native production. The next day it was possible to hear the whole opera played

and sung, 'broadcast' directly from the opera house.

This was one of the best features of the radio in Berlin: one could hear an entire play, as, for example, 'Minna von Barnhelm,' or an opera, as the one just mentioned. The disadvantage was that there was really only one thing going on at a time, and, if the lecture was dull or the music trivial, there was nothing to do but to hang up. Most of the sets were on the Government wave-length, which was fixed; private sets, capable of adjusting themselves to the 'German wave,' were very rare. Mostly one saw a plug in the wall and a set of ear phones; the apparatus of the American sets were missing or were so arranged that there was only one to a whole apartment. There were some 'Schwarzhörer:' people who listened in, without paying anything to the Post-Office.

A typical Sunday programme follows: 8 A.M. Organ prelude, a chorus, a soprano solo, reading from the Bible, sermon, a Bach quartet, a violin and piano duet, a final chorus. At 11.30, a concert by the Berlin radio orchestra, mostly from the lighter operas. At 4 P.M., a fairy tale, told in the usual fairy-tale manner; at 5, recitations. From 5.30 to 6.30 an excellent chamber-music concert, consisting of a selection from Haydn and one from Grieg; directly after this, the home hints. At 7, a lecture on historic Berlin, at 7.30 the 'poetry of modern reality,' that is, selections from poems on aviation. At 8, a novel was read, by daily chapters, with some advertisement of the publisher; at 8.30, an orchestra concert, consisting

of Strauss's *Burlesque*, a selection from Rimski-Korsakow, and Tschaikowsky's *Fifth Symphony*. From 10.40 to 12, there was dance music.

The programmes were far better, all in all, than the technical development of the radio itself; there was a great deal of static, which, in the case of two performances of entire plays, grew so bad that one heard nothing. In a number of instances the whole service gave out in the middle of a number and was not resumed for many minutes, a fact which deranged the entire programme. The system evinced at once the advantages and the disadvantages of entire Government control: cheap radio, accessible to all, at a time when the people are too poor to buy their own sets, carefully selected programmes of good music and fairly good non-musical numbers, especially good lectures on popular science, but no competition and a rather poor technical execution, from the electrical side. Loud-speakers were very uncommon; perhaps those who danced used them, but the screeching that one is subjected to in a New York apartment was never heard anywhere in the flats in Berlin. The programme of the German wave-length was entirely educational; it consisted of Spanish for beginners, a talk on the technical difficulties of receiving in large cities, a pedagogical talk, a report from the central institute for science teaching and a biological talk on fish, and in the evening supplementary talks to physicians on professional matters, a type of graduate education for busy doctors.

CHAPTER VII

GERMANY'S INTELLECTUAL VITALITY

FOR many years Germany has appeared only in the light of its militarism, its military prowess, or at least with the emphases upon the military sides of its life. This point of view was maintained in many books, as well as in the press, for a considerable time after the war was over. Now the emphasis has shifted, and the world is flooded with books and articles dealing with Germany's economic condition, especially with its economic recovery. Now, economics as applied to Germany offers two avenues of escape for the world. That 'dismal science' is a convenient parachute to let the world down, from the burst balloon of Germany's exclusive war guilt, to a sane *terra firma* upon which to build a new structure of world relations. In the second place, as the world has put so large a financial burden upon the German people, it must know how the various plans for managing these finances are functioning, and whether the schemes are satisfactory. It is as if the whole world were standing by, while Germany is having a wrestling match with economic conditions, and, as a spectator, with bets heavily on Germany, were cheering wildly for the little fellow to win. Besides this, the preoccupation with economics serves Germany as a nine-tenths legitimate excuse for present ills and defections, and for possible future failures.

Corollary to this attitude, there is that which postulates Germany as an ideal land of science, in which supermen in superlaboratories produce supermiracles. This attitude permeates all Asia: the idea that there is something superhuman about German science has become a positive fetich to the Orientals. It takes the form, which is almost rigorous convention in China and Japan, that, while students of law and literature should learn French, only those interested in natural sciences should touch German.

This attitude prevents people from seeing the entire facetting of German life; militarism, economic determinism, rigid scientific accuracy, are not the only aspects of German intellectual life, the intense vitality of which is perhaps its most significant and universal feature. It is of an intensity surprising to the outsider; and it is perhaps because German life has been delimited, and its outlook curtailed through the loss of colonies, the closing of the commercial horizon, and the sudden cutting-off of military ardor and aspirations after a period of intense military activity, that life turns inward as much as it does.

It is not surprising that the spirit of the universities should be so intensely intellectual, although one is not entirely accustomed, in America, primarily to regard all universities as intellectual institutions. Whatever American universities may appear to themselves to be from within, they are not held in that esteem by the American public that the German universities enjoy among the German public, because

of their contributions to the intellectual stimulus of Germany, so that one feels that in America the university is always something extraneous, where in Germany it is the very heart of the intellectual vitality of the nation. Whatever it is about the atmosphere of the German universities that makes for the intellectual point of view, it is impossible to say. There is something intangible and indefinable about the German university that is like nothing else in the world, and, like some great views, or some delectable Chinese dishes, must be enjoyed and understood through direct personal contact.

It may be objected that the Germans are not a race of supermen, and that there are plenty of *Banansens* among them; also that it is dangerous to take the point of view that intellectual vitality is proved exclusively by reference to university conditions. The fact is, however, that Germany is European; America might just as well admit that there is an attitude toward polite learning and the arts in all of Europe — and in Asia as well — which is different from, and, in general, superior to, that found in America. In Germany, too, the intellectual vitality, as such, is by no means paralleled by the social or artistic vitality. Intellectual life, considered purely as a manifestation of certain mental disciplines, seems to have found a complete medium, and to have synthesized itself into something which may be regarded as so distinct that it becomes a definite national contribution from Germany to the world at

large. On the other hand, neither social life nor the arts have found themselves to such a degree. It will not do to say that these are merely imitative at the present time, as they were wont to be in certain other periods of Germany's literary and artistic history. They still have a certain angularity of newness which reminds us, in the words of Goethe, that 'the graces were not present at their birth.' This, however, is no detraction from the vitality and freshness of the German intellectual outlook on life, no matter how definite a restriction it may imply in the art of living. Everywhere one sees evidences in Germany of the struggle to break through to a larger horizon; everywhere one is impressed by the soundness of the background and the thoroughness of the processes upon which it is based.

The old German interest in details, the willingness to sit for long hours, and to work faithfully and painstakingly, characterize the German to-day as they did in the past. The interest in details expands to an interest in the minutiae of all the world, and, indeed, the desire of the Germans to-day to know about the world has become a positive hunger. The popularity of the literature of travel is due in Germany, even more than elsewhere, to the desire for an 'escape'; the Germans seem to find that their whole intellectual life needs the same sort of 'escape,' and thus we may account for the popularity of the lectures on travel and of university and lecture courses relating to colonies; in fact, it accounts for a good deal of the

popularity of the literary and linguistic studies of foreign nations carried on in Germany. Even if the 'escape' may have a definite relation to commercial opportunity, the fact is that the activity and vitality of German intellectual life are very strongly concentrated in these fields.

It was a matter of constant discussion, the tone of which was invariably surprise and disappointment, that just in America the whole Oriental problem, for example, was so neglected in schools and universities. The Germans could not understand why a rich country, whose nextdoor neighbors to the west were China and Japan, had in its entire university system not one complete professorship of Japanese and only two professorships in Sinology, and that only one State university in the entire country was provided with either. They felt that the lack of interest in Oriental problems, except commercially, was something which they themselves could not be capable of, and that only lack of funds prevented them from carrying out extensive plans for the development of Sinology and Japanology. To be sure, this is only one example, but it comes from direct personal contact with groups of men who are learned to a degree not even understandable by the average American; it is perhaps unjust to gauge intellectual currents by their relation to one's own interests, but when one's interests happen to be fairly wide, and one finds understanding for them at practically every point of contact, one soon comes to the conclusion

that a people which can provide intellectual energy so consistently and so constantly must have a considerable store of that quality in reserve. Wherever one probes into the depths of what Germany is doing in an intellectual way, one finds the same thing. Perhaps it may be the hope of regaining colonies in Africa that keeps up the interest in African languages, but I venture to say that, behind the commercial interests, there is a scientific desire for some linguistic synthesis. The mere attitude of interest maintained only so long as it is commercially valuable, which characterizes the smug humanitarianism of the Rotarian point of view, and which has crept into the universities of America through the schools of business administration, is entirely lacking in Germany, where, it seems to me, there are, for all their slight tinge of pedantry, more rounded characters, or, rather, more rounded intellects, than among any other group that I have happened to meet. Browning, writing in 1850, in 'Christmas Eve,' characterizes the German savant of his day:

'Step by step, deliberate,
Because of his cranium's over-freight,
Three parts sublime to one grotesque,
... the Professor.
I felt as if at once there ran
A shoot of love from my heart to the man —
That sallow virgin-minded studious
Martyr to mild enthusiasm,
... with a wan pure look, well-nigh celestial —'

These lines indicate, in a measure, a type that has

passed. In its place there is a far more worldly, practical, and definite personality which touches on life at many points, and which is not only fit to be the bearer of ideals, but which delves deeply into realities and carries along the intellectual life of Germany in crania, which, however 'over-freighted,' are still alive to the actualities.

I have seen a good many young people from America go to Germany to study. When they really get into the stream of German intellectual life, something which they learn to appreciate is just this rounded-out fullness of the German intellectual attitude. One young man, who returned to college in America after a year spent abroad, made the following comment: 'This College has not changed a particle. There are the same good-hearted and well-meaning efforts on the part of the faculty to aid a student in his education, but this aid is strictly in the line of the professor's own beliefs and wishes. Professor——, being German, has the typical German thoroughness and intellectual freedom. Unlike most of the other faculty members, he welcomes personal opinions, even if they are wrong, and he emphasizes individual thinking. No, the American professor does not compare with the German professor. Professor Blank is a wonderful example of the American college professor. He knows his own subject very well, but only his own subject! Art, music, literature, etc., have no part in his lectures, and I do not believe he even indulges in them. (*Sic!*) If he could only give an ex-

ample in some other field to illustrate his points it would add a great deal. Of course, his subject is very specialized, but so is psychology, and Professor D —, in —, certainly managed to cover a tremendous field for illustration, in his lectures.' Comment like this is worth more than a good deal of abstract discussion. It hits the nail squarely on the head, and shows exactly wherein the German intellectual superiority lies.

Another example of the vitality of the German intellectual point of view is seen in the intense preoccupation with real political problems. The formula is not particularly cosmopolitan; it may be said to consist of the equation: national life = my life. On the basis of this, there is built a structure of interest in world politics. Just how much of this has been forced upon the German through the compacts which he was compelled to accept at Versailles, it is impossible to determine, but the fact is obvious to any one who comes into contact with the Germans, by and large, that they are equal to the intellectual task of thinking out whatever new relations they find themselves in. The contrast between the political indifferentism of the United States, on the one hand, where people are not interested enough to vote, and where the whole political tone is shallow, and the new nationalism of China, on the other hand, where the people have allowed politics, in so far as they have been stirred by them at all, to pass from the realm of the intellect to that of emotionalism amounting to

hysteria, is an extremely instructive one. Even if the tone of German politics is that of narrow partisanship, there is, nevertheless, in the background, an attempt to build up a scientific attitude, based on information and extending clearly into the international sphere. Let this be due to the proximity of hostile neighbors, or to huge war indemnities, or to whatever cause, one feels, in going to Germany with information, that this information is welcomed, that its implications are understood, and that it can be documented by facts within the reach of the Germans themselves. Discussion of intellectual matters with intellectual Germans is a good training in modesty.

The old ghost of German '*Kultur*' has been pretty effectually laid. When one spends a certain amount of time in Germany, one sees, however, how the misunderstandings which gave rise to the idea were very naturally conceived. The Germans are 'culture-conscious.' While the adjective '*Deutsch*' occurs no more frequently than the adjective 'American,' especially in all one hundred per cent varieties, or than the adjective 'British,' which is on the cancellation mark of every English postage stamp in the form, 'British goods are best,' it is nevertheless present in conjunction with '*Bildung*' with sufficient frequency to make German culture seem to those upon whom it impinges from the outside to be fully as obnoxious as the sentimental exuberance of the 'hundred-percenter' of the cold commercialism of England.¹ We

¹ A French cancellation stamp says, 'La France doit sauver ses élites. Aidez la cité universitaire.'

touch at each of these three points, perhaps not exactly the sore spot in the national character of three great nations, but surely something more resembling a confirmed habit of mind than a mere foible, and it is a habit of mind which, in some aspects or in some strata of the folk-consciousness, amounts to an *idée fixe* for each of the three nations.

One reason why the German has struggled, and sometimes failed, to maintain the personality of his culture is because Germany, from its geographical position, has always been open to extraneous influences. Its general lack of definite natural boundaries, indeed, the shifting of its political boundaries through the centuries, have constantly laid the country open to the currents of foreign influence from every direction. Conquest, too, has done its part in sending waves of soldiers with their foreign ideas over the country. But if the Germans, as a people, had not been susceptible to such foreignizing influence, the fact of it would have been as generally negligible as it is in China, where the Chinese retained a firm centralized culture, especially in their literary traditions, to the exclusion of outside ideas, until the period of the breakdown of their entire folkways began, a relatively few years ago. Germany also has its centralized race-personality, quite as individually flavored as that of any other European nation, but influences on this personality from without have given it newer angles of approach, have brought new ideas, and have, especially, entrained

with them a large mass of imitative reactions. The Germans seem to run after foreign ideas more than most other nations do. It is not as if they were not proud of their national culture; but, parallel with this pride, goes a seeking for something exotic, something foreign. One splendid result of this whole tendency is that there are found in German more excellent translations from all sorts of other languages than can be found in any other language in the world, 'including the Scandinavian.' The stream of translation continues, and, in spite of high production costs, it seems relatively easy to find publishers. Some one remarked on the possibility of the translation of a very erudite work from the Chinese, which would appeal to an extremely limited audience. It was unanimously the opinion of those who were consulted that the question of a publisher need not for a moment enter into consideration. One professor made the categorical statement that good translations into German from any language would always find their publisher.¹

Part of this is due to the interest in the outside world, part of it is due to the linguistic and literary interests which permeate all the intellectual classes, whether they be philologists or veterinarians, interests which are the common background of general European and Asiatic culture, and which stand out in strong contrast to the mercantile and mechanical interests of the same type of people in America.

¹ And see page 263.

German literature, in all of its phases, has been forced throughout its history to struggle for that background of nationality without which no great literature ever seems to attain its real greatness. At great national crises in German history, such as those brought about by the campaigns of Napoleon, there have been, at times, corresponding elevations in the tone of German national literature; there is some strikingly magnificent poetry from this period. However, there have been many other times in which the crisis in the political history of the country has been attended by a political collapse and social ruin; as, for example, the period following the Thirty Years' War, which produced hardly any single work of national importance and only one of international fame, Grimmelshausen's 'Simplicissimus.' It is, therefore, extremely dangerous to attempt a generalization in regard to such a period as the present, when Germany has suffered a defeat far worse than that of 1806, from which she was able to recover by 1813. The havoc wrought upon Germany by the brutality of the generals of Louis XIV did not strike at the centers of national life with nearly the shock of the collapse of 1918, since Germany, in the early part of the eighteenth century, was still sufficiently decentralized to enable her to stand a blow on one part without that blow disrupting the whole structure. The old German congeries of states, each with its petty nationality and gallinaceous individuality, took up the shock far better than did the more rigid struc-

ture — more rigid both in political and mental fiber — of the present day. It is difficult to determine whether the present status of Germany's inner life, which includes an intense preoccupation, not merely with intellectual, but with literary and artistic matters, is really deeply affected by the national disaster, or whether the final effect will be only that of a retardation of the development, through economic pressure from the national to the individual life; or whether the definite shifting of the economic life of the country, through the draining of capital, after an influx of that commodity for a generation, will so shift the center of gravity in the mental life of the country that it will be changed to its very heart. At present it seems as if only the periphery were altered, but it is actually too early, and the perspective is lacking, to determine any final trend or direction. Conditions seem to indicate, rather, a flow of new ideas, and often a 'revaluation of old values.' After one has lived in and with the Germans intimately for a period, one begins to feel, as they all seem to feel, that these revaluations are of a definite material nature, and that the country has not yet regained its mental poise after its recent economic nightmare. The period of economic disaster is too close to them and too real to have received its proper shaping into literary and artistic form. Bizarre and phantasmagoric manifestations do appear, but in no part of German artistic life — nor indeed in German social forms — has the synthesis seemingly been attained.

One of the best evidences of new attitudes toward the whole intellectual problem is the plan of the German Museum and its execution in Munich. There have been many excellent museums in Germany, but they have been either historical or specialized, or have been of the art-gallery type. The Germanic Museum in Nuremberg is such a museum, splendid in building and in contents, but still facing the past rather than the present or the future. But the Munich institution is of a new and modern type. That it should have been first developed in Germany, which has, in this case, distinctly got ahead of America in one of the things which America could have done well, is altogether to the credit of the Germans and their vision. In the German Museum we have a nearly perfect example of the scientific and industrial museum. The clever thing about the entire institution is that in every department the visitor has a chance, not merely to see, but to participate in the working of the exhibit before him. There is, for example, a complete mining exhibit, which consists of an actual mine, into which one descends, while the mining machinery is put into operation before one's eyes. Even better, in a measure, than this is the large number of small exhibits in physics, chemistry, etc., where the inquiring youngster may press a button or turn a crank and 'see how it works.' The museum never becomes a dead center of ennui. By special rebates and tickets, the public is encouraged to attend, so that the place is crowded. It may be objected by

some that the matter displayed is too exclusively national, and that a scientific exhibit like this should be based on a more international foundation. But what one actually does gather from such a collection, is the wide sweep of German science and technology, and one learns to appreciate this as well as the romantic, the poetic, and the pleasantly historical in Germany's contribution to civilization.

Perhaps the most characteristic incident, in this connection, is the use made by German scientists of the polyglot prisoners of war assembled in the prison camps of Germany. It was a stroke of real genius to employ these men to make those speech records which have since been assembled in a phonetics laboratory in Berlin. This laboratory, which now contains several thousand speech records, is, as far as I know, the only one of its kind in the world. It has practically complete records of every English, French, and Italian dialect, and a very full collection of examples from other parts of Europe. For some of the East Indian dialects it is also practically complete, since use was made of every individual who could be pressed into the service to record his native idiom. That the phonetic records themselves are somewhat scratchy is no fault of the scheme of organization; as an instrument for language study in future, the institute has unlimited possibilities. It took imagination and a thorough scientific background to conceive the idea. It is a definite sign that even during the war German intellectual vitality was not suffered to decline.

What is also extremely interesting is the type of lectures which draw large audiences who are willing to pay to listen to a discussion of extremely abstract subjects. It was repeatedly averred that the German audience had been so schooled in close attention that they could follow, for periods of from one and a half to two hours, lectures on subjects no matter how abstruse. This came out when invitations to lecture were sent by various universities. At Aix-la-Chapelle, it was suggested that the lower limit of time for a pretty heavy topic should be ninety minutes, and Leipzig audiences were disappointed at talks of seventy minutes' duration. To be sure, when this remarkable patience was mentioned in Berlin, and it was suggested that the lecture of seventy-five minutes' duration be given, a certain embarrassment was manifested. The lecturer, who happened to be myself, was somewhat worried at the thought of being expected to talk longer, but the matter was cleared up by the explanation that the metropolitan Berlin audience grows restive after an hour, and begins to leave to make connections for the distant suburbs. It was pityingly explained that 'in the provinces' people have less to do and are less sophisticated than in Berlin, and so are willing to listen longer. These lectures are the subject of newspaper report and of current conversation the next day. There is always a lively interest in what other people are thinking, and the desire is to keep in touch with the progress of thought everywhere. This desire

brings really excellent standards of conversation. Sometimes these standards are not backed up by complete information, as, for example, when a German high-school teacher wondered why an American should lecture on the negro, saying that he knew that we had plenty of Indians, as he had read Cooper, but that he was unaware of the presence of numbers of negroes. But this was an isolated case. In general, whether in trains or at boarding-houses, as well as in the university circles, the conversation was of a high order of intelligence. One missed completely the gossip and the shop that is so frequent in the Orient, and social small-talk was almost entirely lacking. One found one's self pretty much the target of a battery of questions, and had less chance to learn by inquiry than to teach through answering questions.

Germany shows signs of turning toward a very orthodox type of Christianity. Its orthodoxy is tempered by the background of higher criticism, but it stands four-square for a transcendental and even somewhat mystic Christianity, which naturally tends to keep God highly nationalized, since the nation clings to whatever remnants of faith are left to it with the same tenacity that it clings to all the remnants left from a precious period or personality. The thoughtful people in Germany are surprisingly 'religious,' even pious. This piety does not affect folkways; it enters into an inner life, moulds thinking and action in the moral sphere, but takes little cognizance of certain forms, outside of the definitely tra-

ditional ceremonies of the actual church service. A professor of theology takes a glass of wine without umbrage, and finds no impulsion to say grace at his table. One senses his religiosity rather through his social theories and his political opinions. The long tradition of the State religion has had its advantages. It saves the Church from the necessity of constantly justifying itself by circus methods and from undignified begging, and it allows people to take for granted a religion which, as part of the State, has its justified and sound position as a definite part of the body politic. Such religion is not donned or doffed like a garment, yet it does not obtrude itself too much into daily life. It certainly does not interfere with thought. On this account many of the most deeply religious people do comparatively little church-going.

Such currents run deep. They make life substantial, they add to ethical values. There is, under all the trouble and despair of Germany, a reality, an honesty, and an inner simplicity, together with a sturdiness of mental fiber that constitutes the true German ethos. These things have their value in the present-day world. Germany has recovered from her confusion and disorder in a surprisingly short time, so that life, to-day, flows along without any of the hectic passions which were so manifest immediately after the war. Suppose one misses the flair for literature and art of the Latin races and their critical *élan*; as a surrogate for these characteristics one has a certain instinctive fundamentality, which rests on well-

understood likenesses to England and America. Germany's place in the sun is by no means decided; in fact, it is not actually clear who will decide it. Only this much may be taken for granted: until the prerogative is exerted in the sense of the spiritual and the fraternal, the elements of uncertainty are too great, the loss of intellectual contributions too severe, for a world which cannot stand the strain of too great further losses, whether of men, of ideals, or of ideas.

For centuries the world has suffered the dominance of certain methods of thinking; the concentration of ideas was on war, militarism, the divine rights of especially favored individuals; and this went parallel with a contempt for the common man and those essentials by which he must perforce exist: labor and business. The French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution freed certain forces from this domination. Chief among these forces was that which profited most by the new era: capitalism. Whereas, in ancient times, capital and the point of view toward life concomitant with it were subsidiary factors in human relationships, a change came with the dawn of the nineteenth century. Then capital began to be looked at as in itself, the dominant force that it is, and, hand in hand with its most intimate ally, industrialism, it made its triumphant way toward world rule. This world rule reached its apex in the World War. However, just as a rise of mechanical power through invention, and of technique through the development of applied science, went side by side with the French

Revolution, so, simultaneously with the forces that culminated in the World War as a destructive moment in world history, there have gone forces which, at present, are entirely incommensurable, but which are steadily transforming the entire outlook of vast areas of the world. The early Industrial Revolution and the constitutional struggles which preceded it gave England the trade hegemony of the nineteenth century, with its concomitant colonial power in Australia, Africa, India, and practically, if not in title, in China. The question which now confronts the world is where this hegemony shall next rest. For many, it seems as if it had already passed to America; others protest that the American is but a temporary sub-phase of the British, and that the center of gravity has shifted to other races and other civilizations.

Under these circumstances it becomes worth while to ask what part Germany is to play in the realignment. Is it to join with the Central European group in a recalcitrant *bloc*, the ideas and sentiments of which will be a constant deterrent to the free intercourse between East and West, or is it to follow England and America, with which it is allied in language, institutions, and fundamental ethical attitudes? Is the rule to be economic determinism, where commercial interests outweigh natural instincts? The Germans may resent following any lead, but, as they seem fated, for the next few years, not to be able to play their hoped-for part in the politics of the

world, they may have to content themselves with a slow recovery to wealth and power through other than the conventional methods. In fact, we may ask ourselves the question whether the Germans, who themselves admit that they are unpolitically minded, were not playing a false rôle before 1914. A far worthier part to play would be to make the synthesis of abstruse learning and technology with industrialism and capitalism toward the definite, immediate, and productive development of those regions which lie to the east. These are peoples who need exactly the type of civilization and management which Germany has to offer; an additional advantage lies in geographical propinquity and in intellectual reputation. Since a very distinctive intellectual attitude permeates Germany, it ought to be possible to evaluate this correctly enough to assist Germany in extending it in those directions where it is immediately welcome. To be able to do this, however, Germany must have support from those nations which are materially better situated. From their fullness must come the support, and out of this fullness they must bestow freely, so that financial values may be transmuted into intellectual or spiritual ones.

This may seem to some a trivial task, but one must remember that behind Europe there stretches the limitless expanse of troubled Asia, all the more disturbed because it is receiving the new wine of Sovietism in the old bottles of ancient system. In the ultimate economic and social readjustments, if not

in the political, some one will have to furnish the motive power for the new reconstructive machinery. This can scarcely come from England or America, the influence of which is at its nadir. Even if France had the inner force and the will to accomplish the task, she is occupied elsewhere, and has different ideals. What of Germany?

THE END

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